

གྲུབ་མཆོག་ཐང་སྟོང་རྒྱལ་པོ་ལ་ན་མོ།

The Life and Teachings of the Tibetan Saint Thang-stong rgyal-po, "King of the Empty Plain"

by

Cyrus Rembert Stearns

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Washington

1980

Approved by Turrell V. Wylie
(Chairperson of Supervisory Committee)

Program Authorized
to Offer Degree Asian Languages and Literature

Date 28 May 1980

Master's Thesis

In presenting this thesis in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a Master's degree at the University of Washington, I agree that the Library shall make its copies freely available for inspection. I further agree that extensive copying of this thesis is allowable only for scholarly purposes. It is understood, however, that any copying or publication of this thesis for commercial purposes, or for financial gain, shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Signature Cyrus R. Stearns

Date 28 May 1980



Thang-stong rgyal-po, "King of the Empty Plain"

With wrathful mahogany form,
you vanquish the hosts of demons.

Endowed with charismatic gaze,
you maintain chosen behavior.

A hidden yogi, you are the
protector of all beings.

I pray at the feet of Thang-
stong rgyal-po.

FRONTISPIECE

Thang-stong rgyal-po, "King of the Empty Plain." The chain in the Mahāsiddha's right hand symbolizes his many iron bridges, and the "vase of long life" (tshe-bum) in his left hand indicates his attainment of the power of longevity and his connection with a famous cycle of life-sustaining rituals.

This prayer, the most famous in honor of Thang-stong, is an excerpt from a praise written by his consort, rJe-btsun Chos-kyi sgron-me.

/bDud dpung 'joms mdzad smug nag khro bo'i sku/ lta ba'i gdeng ldan brtul zhugs spyod pa skyong/ sbas pa'i rnal 'byor 'gro ba yongs kyi mgon/ Thang stong rgyal po'i zhabs la gsol ba 'debs/.

/Tsā gong du rje btsun chos kyi sgron mes bstod pa las phyung ba dge/.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to my lama, the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, Kun-dga' bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, a true embodiment of Avalokiteśvara's kindness. It is he who made me aware of the astonishing life and profound teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po. From him I first received Thang-stong's Avalokiteśvara sādhana, the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma, and his 'Chi med dpal ster methods for achieving longevity. Since I began the study of Thang-stong rgyal-po's life and teachings, Rinpoche has provided continual inspiration with stories from the oral tradition, and his own unique ability to make the most difficult teachings accessible.

To the Ven. Dil-mgo mkhyen-brtse Rinpoche I offer my sincere and humble gratitude. The great personal warmth he extended to me, and his precious instructions following the initiations for the Grub thob thugs thig will always be treasured. I should also like to offer my thanks to the Ven. bCo-brgyad Khri-chen Rinpoche of Lumbini, who presented me with the generous gift of his own copy of the biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po which I have used for this study.

The completion of my work concerning Thang-stong rgyal-po would not have been possible without the continual support and advice of Professor Turrell V. Wylie, and the

constructive criticism and encouragement of Professor D. Seyfort Ruegg. I owe many thanks to these two scholars. I am also indebted to Geshe Nawang Nornang, with whom I read the entire biography, and the Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche who aided me in the interpretation of numerous difficult points. In addition I am grateful to Mr. Michael Aris and Ms. Janet Gyatso for their generous contributions.

In conclusion, it is with special joy that I acknowledge the invaluable support and understanding of Maruta Kalnins. During what seemed like an unending process of composition, revision, and typing, she constantly offered her assistance and insight.

PART I

THE LIFE AND TEACHINGS OF THANG-STONG RGYAL-PO

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE TRADITION OF THANG-STONG RGYAL-PO

The Tibetan saint Thang-stong rgyal-po, "King of the Empty Plain," is a figure of nearly mythical proportions in the development of Tibetan Buddhism. He is unique by virtue of his contributions to the mystical traditions of Tibet, as well as his innovative achievements in the field of metallurgy. In the formation of popular traditions among the Tibetan people, Thang-stong rgyal-po has a role of many facets, with deep influence throughout Tibetan culture. His life and teachings are intertwined with the themes of divine madness, visionary revelation, demon exorcism, the quest for immortality, the relationship of man with his environment, and the process of ultimate enlightenment. He is revered throughout Tibet and the Himalayan regions as the inventor of unprecendented iron suspension bridges (lcags-zam), and is thereby famed as lCags-zam-pa, "The Iron Bridge Man." His construction activities also included the strategic placement of many stūpas, architectural symbols of enlightened mind, whose locations were based upon geomantic principles for the purpose of controlling the environment. Several of his monasteries, constructed in Tibet and Bhutan during some 80 years of almost

constant travel, remain famous to the present day.

According to Tibetan tradition, Thang-stong rgyal-po lived to the age of 124 years (1361-1485) as a result of his practice of meditation techniques for the attainment of deathlessness. These methods through which he achieved longevity have been passed down as the most efficacious and popular in the Tibetan Buddhist tradition. His other systems of meditation, most notably those concerning Avalokiteśvara and Vajravārāhī, have been used for the last 500 years by Tibetan Buddhists seeking spiritual insight. Thang-stong was famed as a mind emanation (thugs-sprul) of Guru Padmasambhava, and recovered numerous caches of treasure teachings (gter-ma) from their places of previous concealment by the great Indian master. The non-sectarian (ris-med) nature of Thang-stong's activities and teachings have earned him a revered position in all the Buddhist schools of Tibet.

Thang-stong rgyal-po was also known by the name Lung-stong smyon-pa, "Madman of the Empty Valley," one of five names bestowed upon him by the ḍākinīs in recognition of his spiritual attainments. The name also indicates that this enigmatic teacher was one of the most important of the "Mad Saints" (Grub-thob smyon-pa) who have been prominent in Tibetan history. He was more apt to be found wandering barefoot in the snow feeling only the bliss of

inner warmth, leaping into a river-boat with a donkey under each arm, or giving initiation to a crowd of people while curled up like an old dog on the teaching throne, than expounding as a great scholar upon abstruse topics of Buddhist philosophy. He was a charismatic and powerful figure, of mahogany complexion with long white flowing hair and beard, clothed in only a single cloak, provocative in both appearance and behavior. In the content of his teachings, and the style of his life, he is most closely related to the Mahāsiddha traditions of India and Tibet. His image as a great sorcerer is clearly retained in his role in the popular Gesar legends, while the tradition of his attainment of immortality is reflected in the dances of the A-lce lha-mo, where he is identified with the White Old Man.[1]

Despite the magnitude of Thang-stong rgyal-po's influence in Tibetan culture, there is very little information readily available concerning his life and teachings. Even the Tibetan historians and chroniclers of the Buddhist tradition have little to say about him, often only mentioning his lengthy life, or providing a passing reference to his affiliation with a certain system of teachings. Prof. R. A. Stein is virtually the only western interpreter of Tibetan culture and religion who has published material dealing with Thang-stong and the impact of his tradition.

Thang-stong rgyal-po was said to have mastered all the religious systems in Tibet, and the transmission of his teachings reflects this eclectic approach to spiritual realization. His own blend of these teachings, as modified by numerous visions of the divine, came to be known as the "System of the Iron Bridge Man" (lCags-zam lugs). This system of instruction was primarily expounded in Tibet at Thang-stong's main monateries of Chu-bo-ri in Dbus, and Ri-bo-che in gTsang, but apparently existed as an even more independent school in Bhutan, where the lCags-zam-pa were listed side by side with the major orders such as Sa-skya-pa, rNying-ma-pa, and bKa'-brgyud-pa. The lCags-zam-pa school in Bhutan remained a cohesive and powerful unit only until the time of Zhabs-drung Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1594-1651) who had the school suppressed for political reasons. Nonetheless, Thang-stong rgyal-po's religious system survived intact, as shown by the fact that the 25th Head Abbot of Bhutan, Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1772-1847), received the _'Chi med dpal ster_ teachings for attainment of deathlessness, as transmitted through Thang-stong's tradition (lcags-zam lugs-kyi tshe-dbang 'chi-med dpal-ster).[2] The school itself has also continued to exist until the present day under the leadership of the rTa-mchog Chos-rje, the head of the tradition in Bhutan, but with nothing approaching the influence of bygone centuries.[3]

In Tibet the teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po's lCags-zam-pa tradition have come down to the present day as spiritual currents found in virtually all the major Buddhist schools. These teachings, as transmitted through various lineages, will be discussed at some length below. The lCags-zam-pa tradition itself has been led since the time of Thang-stong rgyal-po by hierarchs bearing the title bsTan-'dzin (Upholder of the Teaching), who resided at Thang-stong's monastery of dPal Chu-bo-ri in Dbus. To attempt a reconstruction of the series of bsTan-'dzin Rinpoches, or lCags-zam-pas, as they were also called, is extremely tenuous considering the limited sources presently available. There are, however, some preliminary conclusions that can be reached. On the basis of former prophecies by his guru Re-mda'-ba (1347-1412), and the advice of various deities and men, Thang-stong rgyal-po entrusted the transmission of his system of dharma, and the responsibility for the upkeep of his many architectural accomplishments to his family descendents (rus-brgyud).[4] In 1456 Thang-stong rgyal-po's son, the monk Nyi-ma bzang-po (b. 1436) was enthroned at Ri-bo-che as his successor and the first bsTan-'dzin Rinpoche.[5] Thang-stong placed his hopes for a continuation of the family line (gdung-brgyud) in his son (sku'i-sras) Don-grub bzang-po, and sent another son (sku'i-sras) sKyab-pa bzang-po to take the see of

the Tsa-gong monastery in Kong-po.[6] His nephew (gdung-gi-dbon) and disciple Byams-pa snyan-grags was appointed as general administrator (rgyal-khams kyi mchod-gnas) of the network of bridges, monasteries, and stūpas Thang-stong rgyal-po had constructed.[7]

In light of this information, it is puzzling to find that none of the lineages of Thang-stong rgyal-po's teachings pass through bsTan-'dzin Nyi-ma bzang-po, nor through any of Thang-stong's relatives mentioned above. From this point it becomes very difficult to ascertain the precise role of Thang-stong rgyal-po's descendents, and whether they or individuals believed to be Thang-stong rgyal-po's reincarnations became the primary holders of the lCags-zam-pa transmissions. The monk Nyi-ma bzang-po did not reside at Ri-bo-che, but based upon Thang-stong's last advice, he followed his example and wandered the land to impartially benefit the people.[8] His successors in the line of bsTan-'dzin title holders made their seat at Thang-stong's lCags-zam monastery on Chu-bo-ri in Dbus, a much more central location for the main monastery than that of Ri-bo-che in the far west. Ri-bo-che also continued to be an important location for the propagation of Thang-stong rgyal-po's tradition, and his disciple Shes-rab dpal-ldan (1444-1517?) a great physician from Byang Ngam-ring, was installed there as Thang-stong's heir (sku-tshab).[9] He was known as Drung-

chen, and his successor on the Ri-bo-che abbatial seat (gdan-sa), bZang-po dpal-rin-pa, is referred to as rJe-drung.[10] Information on Ri-bo-che is almost nonexistent at present, but we do know that Kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas (1704-1760) exchanged teachings with the abbot of Ri-bo-che, mKhan-chen Drung bLo-bzang stobs-ldan during a visit in 1745.[11]

It is obvious that Chu-bo-ri and not Ri-bo-che became the most important location for transmission of Thang-stong rgyal-po's teachings, and that the lCags-zam-pa hierarchs had their residence (bla-brang) there. It is much more uncertain exactly how the line of lCags-zam-pas developed, and who they were. The first of the line, Nyi-ma bzang-po (b. 1436) was not Thang-stong's rebirth, but it is certain that later bsTan-'dzin Rinpoches were regarded as his reincarnations (mchog-sprul), and that they held the position of leadership in the lCags-zam-pa tradition, even though the family line still survived. We know that the seventh lCags-zam-pa was bsTan-'dzin Ye-shes lhun-grub (b. 1738), and that his successor, the eighth bsTan-'dzin mKhyen-rab mthu-stobs was a guru of the great 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820-1892).[12] In addition to being one of the great figures in the lCags-zam-pa lineage, Ye-shes lhun-grub also became the heir to the gTer-ma tradition of Dri-med gling-pa (d. 1775/6). One of the

teachers of Ye-shes lhun-grub was Grubs-rigs Ngag-dbang yongs-grags (1714-1767) who was a descendent of Thang-stong rgyal-po and an important lama in the Thang stong snyan brgyud lineage, but not a bsTan-'dzin title holder.[13] Another of Ngag-dbang yongs-grags' disciples was the Sa-skya-pa master Kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas (1704-1760).[14] Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin phun-tshogs (1648-1714), was a descendent of Thang-stong rgyal-po and an upholder of his religious tradition, but also not a bsTan-'dzin title holder.[15] Ngag-dbang yongs-grags is the last representative of Thang-stong rgyal-po's hereditary line whom I have been able to locate, and it is apparent that the leadership of the lCags-zam-pa school, even before his time, no longer passed through the family line, but was instead based upon recognition of the rebirths of Thang-stong rgyal-po.

Between the time of the first bsTan-'dzin Rinpoche, Nyi-ma bzang-po (b. 1436), and the seventh title holder, Ye-shes lhun-grub (b. 1738), whose tomb is at Chu-bo-ri, there is very scant information concerning the leaders of the lCags-zam-pa school.[16] I have been able to discover the names and approximate times of four of the five intervening hierarchs, but placing them in order is a matter of some uncertainty. The earliest of these, and perhaps the second lCags-zam-pa, was bsTan-'dzin Nyi-zla bzang-po

who was a disciple of Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1495-1566). He transmitted several teachings to Dbang-phyug rab-brtan (1559-1636) of the Tshar-pa subsect of the Sa-skya tradition, and also to his own nephew (dbon) Ngag-dbang nyi-ma. It is very possible that Nyi-zla bzang-po and Ngag-dbang nyi-ma were both descendents of Thang-stong rgyal-po, for they are referred to as Grub-rigs 'dzin-pa and Grub-rigs 'chang, although these terms could have other connotations. Perhaps they were uncle and nephew, this being a traditional relationship for passing teachings in Tibet. Nyi-zla bzang-po was possibly the first bsTan-'dzin to be considered a rebirth of Thang-stong rgyal-po. From his time on there is always at least one lama between the successive bsTan-'dzin Rinpoches in the transmission lists, as would be required if the line was one of reincarnation, and not investiture of a new hierarch by his predecessor.[17] Following Nyi-zla bzang-po, whose remains are enshrined at Chu-bo-ri, was perhaps bsTan-'dzin Kun-dga' bsod-nams dbang-phyug, the lCags-zam-pa from whom Thang-stong's descendent Ngag-dbang phun-tshogs (1648-1714) received novice vows in 1660.[18] This hierarch, whose remains are also preserved at the monastery of Chu-bo-ri, preceeds the Tshar-pa lama rMor-chen dKon-mchog lhun-grub (1654-1726) in several lineages. Another hierarch at Chu-bo-ri (lcags-zam-chu-bo-ri'i mchog-sprul) Ngag-dbang blo-gsal nyi-zla

'od-'bar received teachings from rMor-chen shortly after 1698.[19] The lCags-zam-pa bLo-bzang dpal-grub was a teacher of Kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas (1704-1760).[20]

This is all the information currently at hand concerning the early lCags-zam-pas, and it is uncertain where in this chronology the one missing bsTan-'dzin Rinpoche should be placed. Indeed, the provisional information given above is certain to require complete revision when and if the necessary sources can be consulted. As noted above, the seventh hierarch Ye-shes lhun-grub was born into the ancient gNubs clan in 1738, and his successor, the eighth lCags-zam-pa mKhyen-rabs mthu-stobs, was a teacher of mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820-1892). I have not attempted to trace the bsTan-'dzin Rinpoches past this period. A more exact rendition of the lCags-zam-pa leadership is impossible until more informative sources become available. The biographies of the Lam-'bras collection of the Sa-skya school should yield valuable information for chronological study of the lCags-zam-pa lineage, and the autobiography of Kun-dga' grol-mchog holds special promise.[21] An understanding of the continuation of the lineage after mKhyen-rabs mthu-stobs should be considerably easier to achieve because of the wealth of material available for this period.

The teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po as they have

come to us today represent a synthesis of the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud, Byang-gter rnying-ma, and gCod-yul traditions. There is much evidence throughout the biographies of the lamas in the Thang stong snyan brgyud which indicates their special affinity with the teachings of these schools, and also to a lesser extent with those of the Sa-skya-pa traditions. It is not surprising to find that the tradition of Thang-stong rgyal-po developed as non-sectarian, for Thang-stong himself studied under some 500 masters belonging to every tradition in Tibet.

The teachings of the ḍākinī Niguma, sister of the great Indian guru Nāropa, were of immense importance in the life of Thang-stong rgyal-po. Niguma bestowed her teachings upon the Tibetan saint Khyung-po rnal-'byor (11th cent.), the founder of the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud-pa school, and they were passed down to Thang-stong rgyal-po through the lineage of the "Seven Jewels" and 'Jag-chung-pa gTsang-ma shangs-ston (1234-1309).[22] Thang-stong received the Ri-gong stod-brgyud lineage (ring-brgyud) from the lama Byang-sems sbyin-pa bzang-po.[23] Among the major Shangs-pa teachings Thang-stong received from sByin-pa bzang-po were the Chos drug, the Phyag chen ga'u ma, the Lam 'khyer gsum, the 'Chi med 'chugs med, the mKha' spyod dkar dmar, and the bLa ma mgon po dbyer med. Apparently he also studied these teachings under the guidance of rDo-

rje gzhon-nu and Mus-chen Nam-mkha' rnal-'byor, both disciples of rGyal-mtshan dpal-bzang.[24] Upon receiving the teachings from sByin-pa bzang-po, Thang-stong went into meditative seclusion, and during a profound visionary experience, beheld the ḍākinī Niguma who directly bestowed upon him fourfold initiation (dbang-bzhi), specific instructions concerning the esoteric significance of her rDorje tshig-rkang, and an extraordinary technique for transference of consciousness by meditation upon the white and red Khecarī (mKha'-spyod dkar-dmar gyi 'pho-ba).[25] Thang-stong rgyal-po's mastery of these precepts was said to be the cause of his ability to instantly emanate numerous forms, know clairvoyantly what others were thinking, and perform the transference of consciousness from afar for the benefit of another person (pha-rol la 'pho-ba mdzad-pa). This was the first of Thang-stong's three visionary encounters with Niguma.[26]

Some years later Thang-stong rgyal-po was traveling from his birthplace to Lhasa soon after he had returned to Tibet from U-rgyan. In a grove of juniper trees at Srin-po rdzong (Demon Fort) in mDo-smad, he was approached again by the ḍākinī Niguma, this time in the form of a 15 year old shepherdess.[27] She bestowed upon him special instructions concerning the sequence of visualization (dmigs-rim) during meditation, and gave him the blessing

of the illusory-body (sgyu-lus byin-brlabs).[28]

The many teachings Thang-stong rgyal-po learned from Niguma were not placed in written form until the latter part of his life, in 1458. In that year he finally received, in a third vision, permission to record the teachings she had previously bestowed upon him. This occurred at his monastery of Ri-bo-che, and the precepts were recorded by Thang-stong's disciple bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan, through whom the major lineage was subsequently transmitted.[29] These precepts, known as the Khrid yig snying po kun 'dus, and a group of related teachings have been passed down in the Thang-lugs of the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud, and are the only teachings now available which were actually signed by Thang-stong rgyal-po.[30] Especially noteworthy among these is his text on the Lus sems 'chi med (Deathlessness of Body and Mind) instructions as revealed to him by Niguma.[31] The text contains the only known writings of Thang-stong rgyal-po which deal specifically with his prominent spiritual interest, the deathless nature of reality. The teachings of the Thang-lugs in the Shangs-pa school have been transmitted through a lineage of teachers distinct from those of the other traditions of Thang-stong rgyal-po.[32] This tradition, like all of Thang-stong's extant teachings, was received by the great mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po both from his gurus, and also in a direct vision-

ary meeting with Thang-stong rgyal-po when mKhyen-brtse was 14 years old.[33]

The most closely guarded esoteric teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po were those concerning the practice of gCod (Severance). Thang-stong himself never wrote anything on this subject, and his own teachings concerning it were passed down orally. During the course of his studies and travels, he had studied all the systems of gCod current in Tibet. He received from Lha-gdong-pa bSod-nams mchog-pa the transmission of the gCod practices as taught by Padmasambhava and passed down in the Byang-gter rnying-ma school.[34] These teachings were based upon the hidden treasures (gter-ma) of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can (1337-1408). From the great Sa-skya master Re-mda'-ba (1349-1412), Thang-stong learned the techniques of gCod according to the gShin-rje-gshed methods, and used them to bring the local spirits under his control before instituting his construction projects.[35] However, it was the vision of rDo-rje phag-mo (Vajravārāhī) appearing to Thang-stong rgyal-po as Ma-gcig Lab-sgron (b. 1055) in the great Kashmiri cemetery of Rameshwara which was to be of greatest significance.[36] Ma-cig Lab-sgron was the mother of the most influential gCod system in Tibet, and the visionary teachings transmitted by her to Thang-stong rgyal-po form the basis of the <u>Thang stong snyan brgyud</u>, also known as the <u>Ma gcig gsang</u>

spyod snyan brgyud, which has been passed down without interruption to the present day.[37]

The teachings of the Thang stong snyan brgyud focus upon rDo-rje phag-mo and the deities of her maṇḍala. They are extremely profound, esoteric techniques, which can be generally classified as gCod and Zhi-byed practices according to the systems of Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas (d. 1117) and his great disciple Ma-gcig Lab-sgron. Thang-stong rgyal-po considered the specific blend of these teachings he received in the vision at Rameshwara, as so secret that he only bestowed them upon one disciple, Nam-mkha' legs-pa, whom he called "King of the gCod Practicers" (gCod-mkhan gyi rgyal-po).[38] He spoke the precepts orally (snyan-brgyud) to Nam-mkha' legs-pa, and bound him to a strict oath. He required that the teachings be passed down in a single, unique transmission (chig-brgyud) in the family of Nam-mkha' legs-pa for three generations. At the time of the third generation, the seal of secrecy could be lifted (bka' rgya dkrol) and if the teachings were widely spread from that time they would be of great benefit. Thang-stong rgyal-po's instructions were scrupulously followed, and the precepts were orally passed down in a single transmission by Nam-mkha' legs-pa to his nephew mKhas-sgrub Shakya bshes-snyen (d. 1549), who spoke them to his nephew Pha-rgod rGyal-mtshan dpal-bzang (1519?-1592?), who in turn

bestowed them solely upon his nephew gShongs-chen mKhas-btsun bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan.[39] gShongs-chen, a major figure in this lineage, then recorded the teachings for the first time in written form, and according to Thang-stong rgyal-po's prophecy, the sNyan brgyud was from that time no longer restricted to a single transmission. It has in this way come to the present with no interruption in transmission from guru to disciple. In later years there were many great upholders of this precious lineage, most notably bsTan-'dzin Ye-shes lhun-grub (b. 1738) the seventh hierarch of Thang-stong's lCags-zam-pa school, and the great eclectic mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820-1892), both of whom revived the embers of the tradition when it was in danger of dying out.

The sNyan brgyud is an extremely esoteric collection, but Thang-stong rgyal-po's method for meditative realization of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara came to be one of the most well known in Tibet. Thang-stong is thought to be an emanation of Avalokiteśvara, and as such his teachings hold the same weight as those of the bodhisattva himself. Indeed, as the 15th Karma-pa, mKha'-khyab rdo-rje (1871-1922) stated in his commentary to Thang-stong rgyal-po's Avalokiteśvara sādhana, the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma, "The Master Siddha Thang-stong rgyal-po was really Avalokiteśvara appearing for the good of mankind."[40] Many of the prophecies

about Thang-stong identify him with Avalokiteśvara, and throughout his life he was guided by visions and teachings bestowed directly upon him by the bodhisattva.

Thang-stong first studied the Avalokiteśvara practices as taught in the Maṇi bka' 'bum and the ancient dMar-khrid techniques under the guidance of his uncle Chos-rje Grags-bzang-pa.[41] Although he studied these traditional teachings, and received a special refuge formula given to his guru bKa'-lnga-pa dPal-'byor shes-rab by Avalokiteśvara especially for him, his ~~own~~ mKha' khyab ma is said to be based upon his many visions of this Bodhisattva of Compassion.[42] Nevertheless, certain aspects of the meditation liturgy are obviously borrowed from the earlier dMar-khrid traditions.[43] The 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma itself has remained extremely popular among Tibetan Buddhists, and has been the subject of several explanatory texts beginning with the beautiful summary by the Jo-nang-pa master Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1495-1566), a central figure in most lineages passed down from Thang-stong rgyal-po.[44]

Thang-stong's biography is pervaded with episodes involving Avalokiteśvara in various situations. There are many teachings from the bodhisattva, such as one bestowed by Thang-stong upon a Maṇipa which begins with the simple statement, "The teachings of Vajradhāra, transmitted through Avalokiteśvara, in the words of Thang-stong rgyal-

po."[45] In several instances Thang-stong rgyal-po's connections with the Maṇipa tradition are apparent.[46] This is significant because of traditional ties between the wandering Maṇipas who put on shows of mime and dance to illustrate the teachings of Avalokiteśvara, and the popular traditions of dance and theatrical performance (zlos-gar) depicting the lives of bodhisattvas and past religious kings. These theatrical performances are famed as the A-lce lha-mo, and are believed to have been begun by Thang-stong rgyal-po.[47] There is no direct mention of the A-lce lha-mo tradition in the biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po, although Prof. R.A. Stein has painstakingly traced the influence of Thang-stong and his role in the dances and other popular traditions such as the Gesar epic.[48] Thang-stong's influence is extremely widespread in the folk traditions, and he is found in the context of another Tibetan genre related to the Maṇipas, that of the 'Das-log, or stories of people who have died and returned to life. In one episode, the person who has died is being ushered by Avalokiteśvara ('Jig-rten dbang-phyug) through various realms of existence:

> "Once we arrived near a heavenly tree and a man carrying a bow and arrows passed by, guiding 100 million sentient beings up a dim path.
>
> 'Who is he?' I thought, and Avalokiteśvara said, 'He is the Siddha Thang-stong rgyal-po of the Tibetan glacial ranges.'"[49]

It is interesting to see Thang-stong rgyal-po depicted carrying a bow and arrows, attributes often associated with some of the great Indian Siddhas like Saraha, and also Tibetan mad saints such as 'Brug-pa Kun-legs (1455-1529). The A-lce lha-mo dances with which Thang-stong has connections contain episodes with actors portraying hunters (rngon-po). In the realm of popular tradition and religion Thang-stong rgyal-po's ties with Avalokiteśvara are strengthened even further by the nature of the exorcistic "Breaking of the Stone" (Pho-bar rdo-gcog) ceremonies which are attributed to him.[50] His traditions for making blessed Maṇi pills (Ma-ṇi ril-sgrub), and white and red medicinal pellets (ril-bu dkar-dmar) known as "One Medicine for 100 Ills" (Nad-rgya sman-gcig), were also inspired by Avalokiteśvara.[51] A seperate study could easily be devoted to the relationship between Avalokiteśvara and Thang-stong rgyal-po and the spiritual and cultural traditions that were thereby produced.

Thang-stong rgyal-po is accorded a great degree of reverence in the rNying-ma tradition, as evidenced by the opening line of 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul's (1811-1899) brief sketch of his life story: "The Master Siddha Thang-stong rgyal-po was the combined manifestation of Avalokiteśvara and Śri-Hayagrīva, Guru Padmasambhava born from a womb."[52] The teacher Padmasambhava, father of the rNying-ma school,

is believed to have been born immaculately from a lotus blossom, and Thang-stong rgyal-po is repeatedly praised in all sources as his mind emanation (thugs-sprul). It is only with considerable effort, however, that more concrete information on Thang-stong's rNying-ma-pa affiliations can be gleaned from available sources. Throughout his biography, frequent reference is made both to the fact that Thang-stong rgyal-po was viewed as a second Padmasambhava returning in the degenerate age, and to his rediscovery of many caches of hidden treasure teachings (gter-ma) left by Padmasambhava during the golden age of the first spread of Buddhism in Tibet.[53] So much would be possible to learn of Thang-stong's rNying-ma teachings if these treasure texts were available for study. Sadly, they appear to have been totally lost over the centuries. We now have only the name of the texts, and a few scattered quotes from one of them, his biographical prophecy (lung-bstan rnam-thar), the Lung bstan gsal ba'i sgron me. Thang-stong is also said to have rehidden several gter-ma teachings which were not suitable for the time.[54] The quintessential content of these was later revealed to the great mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, who revived the gTer-ma tradition of Thang-stong rgyal-po.

The documentation of Thang-stong's rNying-ma-pa affiliation must begin by examining the information about his

teachers, and the teachings he received from them. Thang-stong learned the teachings of the rNying-ma-pa school chiefly from four lamas, two of whom were of the Northern Treasure (Byang-gter) tradition, and two of whom he met during his studies in India. These latter two, Ku-sa-li Kun-dga' snying-po and sKal-ldan rdo-rje grags-pa I have been unable to identify.[55] Kun-spangs Don-yod rgyal-mtshan and Lha-gdong-pa bSod-nams mchog-pa were disciples of the great revealer of treasures (gter-ston) Rig-'dzin rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can (1337-1408), the founder of the Byang-gter branch of the rNying-ma-pa tradition. From these two lamas Thang-stong received all of the rNying-ma bKa'-ma teachings, and especially the treasured teachings of the Byang-gter.[56] Without texts of his own composition, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which Thang-stong himself continued this tradition, although it is apparent that during his life he was extremely involved with the rNying-ma-pa teachings. He is sometimes referred to as U-rgyan Thang-stong rgyal-po, and when his mother became a nun near the end of her life, it was the rDzogs-chen teachings of the rNying-ma system which Thang-stong taught her.[57] His journey to Padmasambhava's paradise in U-rgyan, his visionary encounter with the Mahāsiddha Hūṃkara, and his numerous gter-ma recoveries all illustrate the importance of the rNying-ma-pa tradition in Thang-stong's spir-

itual development.[58] Furthermore, other lamas and his own disciples occasionally had visions of Thang-stong as rDo-rje drag-po rtsal, or saw him as such upon meeting him. rDo-rje drag-po rtsal is the terrible form of Padmasambhava propitiated in the Thugs sgrub section of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can's treasure teachings.[59] It is recorded that when 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen rgyal-mtshan (b. 1446) met Thang-stong rgyal-po in the 1470's, the Byang-gter thugs-sgrub, and Zang-thal teachings of the rDzogs-chen as revealed by rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can were among the precepts Thang-stong bestowed upon him.[60] The gSan yig of the 5th Dalai Lama, bLo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) reveals that he also received several Byang-gter transmissions that had passed through Thang-stong, among them the Thugs sgrub drag po rtsal.[61] It is also known that Thang-stong was the teacher from whom the important Sa-skya master Kun-spangs rDo-ring-pa (1449-1524) received the rNying-ma-pa precepts.[62]

It is Thang-stong rgyal-po's own guru, Don-yod rgyal-mtshan who provides the most significant link in connecting Thang-stong with the continuation of the Byang-gter tradition. Before Thang-stong first came to him to request the Byang-gter precepts, Don-yod rgyal-mtshan prophecied that he would achieve the knowledge to extend his life-span (tshe'i rig-'dzin), through the practice of the

lCags kyi sdong po section of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can's hidden treasure teachings.[63] The lCags kyi sdong po is the section in the Thugs sgrub cycle of rGod-ldem's gter-ma teachings dealing with sustaining the life force through meditation upon Amitābha, Amitāyus, and Hayagrīva.[64] This treasure text was recorded in the symbolic language of the dakinis by Padmasambhava's secret consort, the goddess Tsandhalī, and hidden in a casket of violet rhinoceros hide (bse-sgrom smug-po) until rediscovered by rGod-ldem.[65] That Thang-stong used this technique is verified by the Sa-skya master Kun-dga' bkra-shis in his explanatory text for bestowing initiation into these teachings. He states that Thang-stong rgyal-po achieved the siddhi of immortality ('chi-med dngos-grub) through use of the lCags kyi sdong po.[66]

It is of special interest to note that the lCags kyi sdong po is also considered to be the specific technique that guru Padmasambhava used to attain the siddhi of deathless life ('chi-med tshe'i dngos-grub). It is said that when Padmasambhava was in the cave of Māratika, meditating with his consort the Indian princess Mandārava as his karmamudrā (las-kyi phyag-rgya), Amitāyus actually appeared to them. He requested many teachings from Amitāyus, among them the lCags kyi sdong po, which both he and Mandārava used to achieve the immortal, indestructable, vajra

body ('chi-med gzhom dang bral-ba'i sra-brtan rdo-rje'i skur gyur).[67]

One of the few extant quotes from Thang-stong rgyal-po's biographical prophecy, the Lung bstan gsal ba'i sgron me states, "His life-span is 110 years, but if he attains the nectar of the life-bearing goddesses he will be able to live even longer than that."[68] The taking of a special woman as tantric partner is nearly a requirement among revealers of treasure teachings because it is the ḍākinīs who bear siddhis and guard the secrets of esoteric knowledge.[69] Thang-stong pursued the practice of life-sustaining techniques throughout his life, and perhaps through the tantric methods of meditation practiced together with a qualified woman such as his consort (gsang-yum) Chos-kyi sgron-me (d. 1458?), and later her rebirth Kun-dga' bzang-mo (b. 1459), he lived to be 124 years old.

Thang-stong rgyal-po's primary consort, rJe-btsun Chos-kyi sgron-me is of special importance because she was an exceptional religious figure in her own right. She first visited Thang-stong's monastery of Ri-bo-che, in 1455 or 1456 just as work on the great stūpa there was being completed. She was said to be one in a series of human manifestations (mi'i-zol gyi skyes-rabs 'phreng-ba) of rDo-rje phag-mo, and the daughter of the Lord of Tibet (Bod-rje).[70] We also know that she was from Gung-thang in

mNga'-ris. Following a prophecy by Thang-stong rgyal-po, she went to his monastery of Tsa-gong gnas-gsar in Kong-po, where her arrival was heralded as that of a member of the lineage of clear light gods ('od-gsal lha'i brgyud-pa).[71] She expanded Thang-stong's monastic establishment at sMan-mo-sgang, and gathered a great deal of iron for the bridge he wished to build at the ferry crossing of Nya-mgo in Dbus. She died soon after, and was reborn in 1459 as rJe-btsun Kun-dga' bzang-mo.[72] Thang-stong raised her from the age of five, and she also became his primary ḍākinī (mkha'-'gro gtso-mo), and remained with him until his death in 1485.[73]

From this information we have some excellent hints for identifying Chos-kyi sgron-me. Gung-thang was the seat of the ruling family in Western Tibet during this era. The rulers were known as Bod-rje and trace their lineage through that of the ancient Tibetan royalty considered to be descendents of the clear light gods. The great historian Tshe-dbang nor-bu (1698-1755) provides the conclusive evidence by identifying one Chos-kyi sgron-me as the daughter of the Gung-thang king Khri Lha-dbang rgyal-mtshan (1404-1464).[74] He tells us she was renowned as a highly realized yoginī who had been the consort of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen, 'Jigs-bral phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1376-1451). Most important, however, is his statement that the continual

rebirths of Chos-kyi sgron-me are today known as the Ya-'brog rJe-btsun-mas, the famous abbotesses of the bSam-sding monastery overlooking Ya-'brog lake near Kong-po.[75] These women were famed as the incarnations of rDo-rje phag-mo, and became the most important female religious figures in Tibet.[76] This monastery was founded by Bo-dong Paṇ-chen, and in another nearby Bo-dong monastery, 'Brog-gangs-lding, Si-tu Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925) recorded that there was a Nepalese style painting of the white Cakrasaṃvara maṇḍala which had belonged to a Chos-kyi sgron-ma (sic!), the consort (gsang-yum) of Thang-stong rgyal-po.[77] In the 1420's when Thang-stong first went to the Kong-po area, he received a prophecy from Vajrayoginī concerning the holy spot Tsa-gong where he later found iron, and established a monastery. She prophecied that in the future rDo-rje phag-mo would leave a skull there with the "special qualities" (mtshan-ldan dbu-thod), which would become a revered relic bestowing joy upon those who beheld it.[78] This was fulfilled many years later when the skull of Chos-kyi sgron-me, an incarnation of rDo-rje phag-mo, was enshrined at Tsa-gong.[79]

From among the many teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po which have been passed down until the present day, it is his life sustaining techniques (tshe-sgrub) which have become most widespread. These methods, known as the <u>'Chi</u>

med dpal ster (Teachings which Bestow the Splendor of Deathlessness), are meditations on Amitāyus the Buddha of Infinite Life, and Hayagrīva, the terrible form of Avalokiteśvara.[80] It is related that during the middle portion of his life Thang-stong actually traveled to Padmasambhava's Palace of Light (Pama 'od-kyi pho-brang) in rNga-yab-gling, or U-rgyan to the southwest, and received the teachings directly from the Lotus Born Guru.[81] Later, according to some sources, he retrieved the same teachings as a portion of the five gter-ma scrolls that he discovered in the cave of mChims-phu near bSam-yas in the 1420's.[82] The 'Chi med dpal ster is thus considered to be based upon both visionary revelation (dag-snang) and the hidden treasure teachings (gter-ma). Thang-stong rgyal-po combined the two, and according to his lCags-zam-pa tradition, lived to be 124 years old as a result of his perfection of these meditations.

Thus we see that both the Byang-gter tradition and Thang-stong's own lCags-zam-pa tradition claim that his long life was a result of meditation upon different life-sustaining practices. Thang-stong rgyal-po had of course received the Byang-gter precepts of the lCags kyi sdong po while still young and no doubt practiced them many years before receiving the teachings of the 'Chi med dpal ster from Padmasambhava in rNga-yab-gling, and then rediscover-

ing them at mChims-phu. It would therefore not be surprising to find some connections between the Byang-gter techniques and those developed in Thang-stong's own tradition. A srog sgrub text based upon the 'Chi med dpal ster by a later author, and found in Thang-stong rgyal-po's Collected Works, contains verbatim sections from the Hrī gcig ma, the secret third section of rGod-ldem's lCags kyi sdong po.[83] This at least shows a liturgical relation between the two traditions later in their history, although there is no similarity whatsoever in the actual techniques found in the lCags kyi sdong po and those of the 'Chi med dpal ster.

The 'Chi med dpal ster as we have it today represents a ritualized version of the visionary teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po which focus upon the realization of immortality, or deathlessness. These methods are for the achievement of longevity, but their ultimate intent is to bring forth the realization that what is called "death" is a deluded concept, and that if one knows the mind to be without beginning, one will also realize that it does not die. These teachings for the achievement of deathlessness were transmitted orally for three generations, first from Thang-stong himself to both Kun-spangs rDo-ring-pa (1449-1524) and bShes-nyen bkra-shis bzang-po, and then to Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1495-1566), who bestowed them upon the

lCags-zam-pa hierarch bsTan-'dzin Nyi-zla bzang-po. It was Nyi-zla bzang-po who first recorded the teachings in writing, composing a history of the techniques, and the manuals for their practice. This is what came to be known by the name _'Chi med dpal ster_.[84] Related practices were later developed by the 5th Dalai Lama, bLo-bzang rgya-mtsho (1617-1682) based upon teachings revealed to him during a vision of Thang-stong rgyal-po.[85] The revealer of treasures Chos-rje gling-pa, Dzam-gling rdo-rje also received a visionary revelation from Thang-stong rgyal-po which is still used today as a life sustaining practice.[86]

For such popular practices as the _'Chi med dpal ster_ and Thang-stong's Avalokiteśvara sādhana, the _'Gro don mkha' khyab ma_, there are many divergent lineages which spread among the old and new traditions in Tibet. The lineages of these teachings began to diversify only after the time of Nyi-zla bzang-po through whom virtually all transmissions passed. For the transmission of these lineages, the most important of Nyi-zla bzang-po's disciples would seem to have been his nephew (dbon) Ngag-dbang nyi-ma and the great lama of the Tshar-pa tradition, Dbang-phyug rab-brtan (1559-1636).[87] The lineage which passed through Ngag-dbang nyi-ma became predominantly associated with Thang-stong's lCags-zam-pa tradition, and was upheld by the lCags-zam-pa hierarchs Kun-dga' dbang-phyug, Ye-

shes lhun-grub (b. 1738), mKhyen-rab mthu-stobs, and the great mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po (1820-1892). Through this transmission passed both the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma, and the 'Chi med dpal ster. Another major lineage of the 'Chi med dpal ster developed from Dbang-phyug rab-brtan in the Sa-skya school which strongly upheld this tradition.[88] The rNying-ma schools also absorbed the 'Chi med dpal ster teachings by way of Dbang-phyug rab-brtan's disciple mGon-po bsod-nams mchog-ldan (1603-1659), who bestowed them upon the 5th Dalai Lama. He in turn transmitted them to his disciple, the great rNying-ma master gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714) of the Southern Treasure (Lho-gter) tradition.[89] gTer-bdag gling-pa also received these teachings from other lamas. The 'Chi med dpal ster had much earlier passed into the Northern Treasure (Byang-gter) tradition of the rNying-ma-pa, from Nyi-zla bzang-po to the Byang Ngam-ring king bKra-shis stobs-rgyal who had also studied with Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1495-1566), and later founded the rDo-rje-brag monastery, seat of the Byang-gter tradition. He passed it to his son Ngag-gi dbang-po (1580-1639), the third incarnation of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can.[90] The same teachings also passed into the various bKa'-brgyud schools at an early point. The 'Chi med dpal ster is now the most widespread and influential technique for achievement of longevity and deathlessness in the Tibetan Bud-

dhist tradition.

Both the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma and the 'Chi med dpal ster were included by mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po in his great collection of non-sectarian teachings, the Grub thabs kun btus. The survival of these lineages was thereby assured along with the lesser known transmissions from Thang-stong rgyal-po such as a pair of Mahākāla sādhanas, and a guruyoga teaching.[91]

The importance of 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po in relation to the teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po as they exist today, is worthy of special treatment. mKhyen-brtse was regarded as an incarnation of Thang-stong, and according to 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul (1811-1899) when people came to meet mKhyen-brtse, he sometimes appeared to actually be Thang-stong rgyal-po.[92] At dawn one autumn morning in 1834, when mKhyen-brtse was 14 years old, he had an extraordinary dream. He dreamt that he was in a fine house he did not recognize. Inside of a spherical red maṇḍala and in the middle of a beautiful white cloud, was the Mahāsiddha Thang-stong rgyal-po surrounded by the five groups of ḍākinīs. The sacramental articles were arranged in front of him, and he bestowed upon mKhyen-brtse initiation and spiritual instructions. mKhyen-brtse awoke from the dream to find Thang-stong rgyal-po actually present. Thang-stong spoke a single sloka of instruction essential

for realization and then dissolved into mKhyen-brtse. This caused the cycle of instructions for spiritual maturation and liberation (ie. the Grub thob thugs thig) to shine clearly within mKhyen-brtse's mind, and in an expanded state of inspired awareness, he recorded them during the next day.[93] In this dream-vision he also received from Thang-stong the direct transmission of the Phyag chen ga'u ma and the Ni gu chos drug, Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud teachings concerning which Thang-stong had composed important meditation manuals.[94] mKhyen-brtse practiced the Grub thob thugs thig himself in secret, and not until 1866 when he was 46 years old did he first bestow these teachings upon 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul (1811-1899), mChog-gyur gling-pa (1829-1870), and Thub-bstan rgyal-mtshan.[95] They were thereafter taught to worthy disciples, and Kong-sprul included them in his Rin chen gter mdzod, a massive collection of all the gTer-ma literature in Tibet. In addition to these visionary revelations, mKhyen-brtse was the holder of all existing lineages passed down from Thang-stong rgyal-po, and became the major transmitter and preserver of his tradition in modern times.

The teachings contained in the Grub thob thugs thig represent the essential portions of the reconcealed treasure precepts (yang-gter) which Thang-stong rgyal-po hid in a cave in Lha-rtse near his birthplace, and in a rock

crevice near bSam-yas mchims-phu.[96] It is said that while in contemplative seclusion in the cave near Lha-rtse, Thang-stong realized that the time was not right for the propagation of many of the profound instructions he had received from the great masters of India and Nepal. He gathered a large amount of slate and recorded the precepts by scratching them on the slate until he had worn down two iron spikes. He left these tablets for the time when a karmically endowed individual would discover them and they would benefit future generations.[97] The Grub thob thugs thig, however, is not a treasure text discovered from the earth (sa-gter), but a cycle of teachings revealed as "mind treasure" (dgongs-gter).[98] It is regarded as the quintessence of the teachings which Thang-stong hid in the rock cavern at Lha-rtse, and then taught in the form of his "wisdom body" (ye-shes sku) to mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po. One could say that Thang-stong rgyal-po concealed these instructions in the ultimate depths of his being, and because he and mKhyen-brtse were considered identical by virtue of the fact that mKhyen-brtse was regarded as his emanation, these realizations shone anew in the mind of mKhyen-brtse when the proper conditions were all complete.

It is important to examine the contents of the Thugs thig because Thang-stong rgyal-po's original gTer-ma teach-

ings are lost and their contents almost a complete mystery. The Grub thob thugs thig is composed of three groups of teachings. The basic text (rtsa-gzhung) is the Phrin las ye shes snying po, a guruyoga technique (bla-sgrub) focusing upon Thang-stong rgyal-po, and employed for the achievement of meditative realization leading to unification with the profound awareness of Thang-stong rgyal-po.[99] The sGrub thabs snying po skor lnga is a collection of five sādhanas focusing upon the spiritual teacher as Padmasambhava in his tranquil form (guru zhi-ba), his terrible form (guru drag-po), the four armed Avalokiteśvara, Hayagrīva, and Vajravārāhī.[100] Finally there is the Khrag 'thung bde gshegs 'dus pa, a collection of methods for propitiation of the sGrub-chen bka'-brgyad, the eight great Herukas of the rNying-ma-pa tradition.[101] These teachings centering on the Eight Herukas are linked with Thang-stong rgyal-po's journey to Padmasambhava's paradise where he beheld them directly and received the techniques.[102] There are in addition several texts concerned with the strengthening and sustaining of the life force (tshe-sgrub), as well as a concise vajrapāda (rdo-rje tshig-rkang) which represents the kernel of the entire cycle.[103]

mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po was repeatedly blessed with visitations by the wisdom body (ye-shes sku) of Thang-

stong rgyal-po. Thang-stong is said to have achieved the state of deathless awareness ('chi-med rig-'dzin), and is thereby always present although only accessible to those with pure spiritual vision (dag-snang) and a karmic connection. Many to this day have been so graced, both before and after the time of 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse. As previously mentioned, Thang-stong rgyal-po appeared to both the 5th Dalai Lama, and the 19th century revealer of treasure teachings Chos-rje gling-pa, and revealed to them teachings concerning the nature of deathlessness. Kun-bzang padma tshe-dbang of the Thang stong snyan brgyud lineage is said to have met Thang-stong face to face (zhal-gzigs), and the yogi kLong-chen nam-mkha' rnal-'byor received visionary teachings from him while in seclusion at mChims-phu.[104] Kun-dga' legs-pa'i 'byung-gnas (1704-1760) also had a vision of Thang-stong accompanied by the ḍākinī Niguma at bSam-yas.[105] The great Sa-skya-pa scholar Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697-1774) credited his recovery from a severe illness to a dream in which he drank a cup of urine offered to him by Thang-stong rgyal-po. dGongs-gter inspired by visions of Thang-stong have occurred even in our time to such teachers as brTul-zhugs gling-pa (1916-1965?).[106]

Direct spiritual communications (nye-brgyud) of this kind transcend the level of normal historical events, and

bypass the more ordinary chronological transmission (ring-brgyud) of teachings from master to disciple. Thang-stong rgyal-po himself received all of his most significant teachings in direct communion with the divine world, and in the same manner, the spiritual legacy of this great visionary continues to be transmitted to the present day. It remains possible, at a distance of five centuries, to be the direct, synchronous disciple of this master who is only chronologically "in the past."[107]

Notes

1. For information on Thang-stong rgyal-po's role in the Gesar legends, see L'Épopée Tibetaine de Gesar dans sa version lamïque de Ling, R.A. Stein, (Paris, 1956). The most lengthy discussion of his place in the popular traditions of both the Gesar epic and the dances of the A-lce lha-mo is found in Recherches sur l'épopée et la barde au Tibet, also by R.A. Stein, (Paris, 1959), especially pp. 513-518. I have not dealt with these topics in detail because of Prof. Stein's previous work, and the fact that these traditions developed after the time of Thang-stong rgyal-po. There is no specific mention of them in Thang-stong's biography.

2. See ff. 25b, 44a, and 57a of Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan's autobiography, the rJe bla ma rin po che'i rnam par thar pa zhal gsung ma bden gnyis 'grub pa'i shing rta, included as the second text in Biographies of Three Bhutanese Prelates (rJe mKhan-po), (Thimphu, Bhutan, Kunzang Topgey, 1976).

3. See Chapter 4 for details concerning Thang-stong rgyal-po's tradition in Bhutan.

4. Re-mda'-ba's prophecy is found on f. 36b of Thang-stong rgyal-po's biography, the dPal grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa kun gsal nor bu'i me long, written by 'Gyur-med bde-chen (b. 1540) in 1609. (Kandro, Tibetan Khampa Industrial Society, Denang Tea Estate, House No. "A" 5, P.O. Bir (via Palapur), Dist. Kangra, H.P. India, 1976).

5. Ibid., f. 143a-b. His birth date is given on f.

96b, where he is referred to as Nyi-zla (sic!) bzang-po. We must assume this is a misspelling, and not a reference to the later bsTan-'dzin Nyi-zla bzang-po who was a disciple of Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1495-1566). Nyi-ma bzang-po was the son of Thang-stong rgyal-po, as well as his disciple, for he is referred to as "A son of the Jinas, born from the three vajras (ie. body, speech, and mind) of the Mahāsiddha." /Grub thob chen po'i rdo rje gsum las 'khrung pa'i rgyal ba'i sras po.../ Ibid., f. 143a. The Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche agrees with this identification.

6. Ibid., ff. 152b, and 170a.

7. Ibid., f. 170a.

8. Ibid., f. 172a.

9. See Chapter 2 for details about Shes-rab dpal-ldan.

10. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 172b.

11. The Collected Works (gSung-'bum) of the Great 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, (Gantok, 1977), vol. 19, Gangs can gyi yul du byon pa'i lo pan rnams kyi mtshan tho rags rim tshigs bcad du bsdebs pa ma hā paṇ ḍi ta shī la ratna'i gsung, f. 166b.

12. The autobiography of Ye-shes lhun-grub is found in the Thang stong snyan brgyud, (Trayang, New Delhi, 1973), vol. 1, pp. 20-22, and brief verses about mKhyen-rabs mthu-stobs on p. 23 vol. 1, and p. 126 vol. 2.

13. Ibid., pp. 19-20, vol. 1, contains a biographical prayer (rnam-thar gsol-'debs) of Ngag-dbang yongs-grags, written by Ye-shes lhun-grub.

14. mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, Collected Works, op.-cit., vol. 19, f. 171b.

15. Ibid., ff. 177a-178a. This teacher was a master of the Lam-'bras system of the Sa-skya school.

16. For a detailed description of lCags-zam Chu-bo-ri, see Ka-thog Si-tu, Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho's (1880-1925) Gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas skor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do, (Khams-sprul Don-brgyud nyi-ma, Palampur, H. P. , 1972), pp. 151-155.

17. See for example the Nye brgyud tshe sgrub 'chi med dpal ster gyi dbang chog bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun, p. 613, where the author Ye-shes lhun-grub (b. 1738) gives several accounts of the transmission of Thang-stong's long life techniques. This text is included in vol. 13 of the sGrub thabs kun btus, edited by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po and his disciple bLo-gter dbang-po, (Dehradun, G. T.K. Lodey, N. Gyaltsen & N. Lungtok, 1970), pp. 600-622.

Ye-shes lhun-grub also refers to Nyi-zla bzang-po as dPal Ngag-gi dbang-phyug, and Ngag-gi dbang-po. It is possible that Nyi-zla bzang-po can be identified with the monk Ngag-gi dbang-phyug, author of a biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po mentioned by 'Gyur-med bde-chen (b. 1540), and stated to be of the same paternal descent (rigs-rus cho-'brang) as himself. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 173a. 'Gyur-med bde-chen is known to be a descendent of Thang-stong rgyal-po, and this identification would verify Nyi-zla bzang-po as a descendent as well.

18. mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, Collected Works, op.-cit., vol. 19, ff. 177a-b.

19. Ibid., f. 140a.

20. Ibid., f. 171b.

21. A copy of this work is kept in the Tibet House Library in New Delhi.

22. See E.G. Smith's "Introduction" to the Shangs pa gser 'phreng, Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, (Leh, Ladakh, 1970), vol. 15, for information on the lineages and teachings of the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud school.

23. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 32a.

24. Thang-stong's meeting with Nam-mkha' rnal-'byor is attested to by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 39a-b, and in Nam-mkha' rnal-'byor's brief biography in the Shangs pa gser 'phreng, op.cit., p. 666. Only 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul mentions that Thang-stong studied with rDo-rje gzhon-nu. See the Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai dūr ya'i phreng ba, f. 125a. This text is included in vol. 1 of the Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo, edited by Kong-sprul, (Paro, Bhutan, 1976).

25. The Vajrapāda (rDo-rje'i tshig-rkang) of the ḍākinī Niguma is found on ff. 144b, vol. 82 of the Peking edition of The Tibetan Tripiṭaka, (D.T. Suzuki, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1956). See pp. 2-3 of Smith's "Introduction" to the Shangs pa gser 'phreng, op.cit., for an enumeration of the most important teachings of the Shangs-pa school, including the 'Pho-ba technique.

26. This vision of Niguma is recorded by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 32a-b.

27. Ibid., ff. 51b-52a.

28. The sgyu-lus byin-brlabs is mentioned as one of the Shangs-pa teachings. Smith, "Introduction", op.cit., p. 2.

29. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 144a-b.

30. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, gDams ngag mdzod, (N.

Lungtok & N. Gyaltsan, Delhi, 1971), vol. 8, pp. 275-332. These texts are signed with the name Lung-stong smyon-pa, one of the names of Thang-stong rgyal-po. See also f. 38a, 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit.

31. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., pp. 319-325.

32. Ibid., pp. 595-596.

33. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, rGya chen bka' mdzod, (Paro, Bhutan, 1976), vol. 15, pp. 343-577. A biography of mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, entitled rJe btsun bla ma thams cad mkhyen cing gzigs pa 'Jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus pa ngo mtshar u dum ba ra'i dga' tshal, p. 507.

34. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 24a-b. See G. Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, (University of California Press, 1980), pp. 87-92 concerning the gCod practices.

35. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 36b-37a.

36. Ibid., f. 86b.

37. These teachings are presently available in two editions, the Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., and the Ma gcig gsang spyod snyan brgyud included in vol. 1-4 of The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po, (Kunsang Tobgey, Thimphu, Bhutan, 1976).

38. Thang stong snyan brgyud, ibid., vol. 1, pp. 89-90.

39. Ibid.

40. Karmapa XV, mKha'-khyab rdo-rje, Grub pa'i dbang phyug thang stong rgyal po'i nye brgyud 'phags mchog spyan ras gzigs kyi bsgom bzlas 'gro don mkha' khyab ma'i zin

bris nyung bsdus 'gro don char rgyun, dbu-can manuscript, 22 ff. On f. 2a we find: /...sPyan ras gzigs dngos mi'i don du byon pa/ grub pa'i dbang phyug Thang stong rgyal pos.../. This text has been translated by Ken McLeod as A Continuous Rain to Benefit Beings, (Kagyu Kunkhyab Chuling, Vancouver, Canada).

41. The Ma ṇi bka' 'bum is a large collection of Avalokiteśvara literature attributed to the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po (617?-650). It is a very popular gTerma text which has been critically treated by A.I. Vostrikov in his Tibetan Historical Literature, (Soviet Indology Series, Calcutta, 1970), pp. 52-57. See also 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 19b. Information concerning the various systems of practical instructions (dmar-khrid) for meditation upon Avalokiteśvara can be found in the Jo nang zab khrid brgya rtsa brgyad, a collection compiled by Kun-dga' grol-mchog, and included in Kong-sprul's gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 12. The history of some of these traditions is provided in The Blue Annals, by Gos Lo-tsa-ba, gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481), and translated by George Roerich, (Motilal Banarsidass, 1976), pp. 1006-1042.

42. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 44a. The refuge formula given by Avalokiteśvara to bKa'-lnga-pa has become famed as the "Ma-nam mkha'-ma", and is a distinguishing charactoristic of Thang-stong rgyal-po's meditation practices. It is also used in some Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud and gCod-yul traditions, and is said to be a manner of taking refuge which contains all the outer, inner, and secret meanings (phyi nang gsang gsum gyi skyabs-'gro). The verses of the "Ma-nam mkha'-ma" are : /Ma nam mkha' dang mnyam pa'i sems can thams cad bla ma sangs rgyas rin po che la skyabs su mchi'o/ sangs rgyas chos dang dge 'dun

rnams la skyabs su mchi'o/ bla ma yi dam mkha' 'gro'i tshogs la skyabs su mchi'o/ rang sems stong gsal chos kyi sku la skyabs su mchi'o/. One of the most important and earliest of Thang-stong's visions of Avalokiteśvara is recorded by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 35a-b, and mentioned by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul who states that the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma is the quintessence of all the teachings Avalokiteśvara directly bestowed. See Kong-sprul's popular edition of this method, the Grub pa'i dbang phyug lcags zam pa chen po'i nye brgyud yi ge drug pa'i sgom lung 'bogs tshul gzhan phan mkha' khyab, in mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po's sGrub thabs kun btus, op.cit., vol. 3, p. 23.

43. An example is the sloka in praise of Avalokiteśvara : /skyon kyis ma gos sku mdog dkar/ rdzogs sangs rgyas kyis dbu la brgyan/ thugs rje spyan gyis 'gro la gzigs/ spyan ras gzigs la phyag 'tshal lo/. Noted by Janet Gyatso in her paper The Teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po, delivered at the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, July 2, 1979.

44. Kun-dga' grol-mchog, Grub pa'i dbang phyug thang stong rgyal po la thugs rje chen pos dngos su gnang ba'i snying po yi ge drug pa'i nyams len gyi gzhung gsal byed dang bcas pa, pp. 17-21, vol. 3 of the sGrub thabs kun btus, mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, op.cit.

45. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 147b, /rdo rje 'chang gi bka'/ thugs rje chen po'i lung/ thang stong rgyal po'i yi ge/.

46. Ibid., f. 163b for example. Prof. Stein has noted the connections between the Maṇipa and 'Das-log traditions. The most well known of the originators of the Maṇipa tradition were Guru Chos-kyi dbang-phyug (1212-1273) and Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1137-1203). See Stein,

Barde au Tibet, op.cit., pp. 402-403.

47. bDud-'joms Rinpoche, 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje, Gangs ljongs rgyal bstan yongs rdzogs kyi phyi ma snga 'gyur rdo rje theg pa'i bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byung ba'i tshul dag cing gsal bar brjod pa lha dbang g.yul las rgyal ba'i rnga bo che'i sgra dbyangs, (Kalimpong, 1967), f. 289a. /dge bskul gyi cha rkyen du mdzad pa'i sngon gyi byang sems chos rgyal sogs kyi rnam thar zlos gar gyi lam nas ston pa deng sang A ce lha mor grags pa'i 'khrab gzhung gi rgyun 'di tsam yang mthong ba don ldan gyi phrin las ngo mtshar phul du gyur/. Selections from this text have been translated by Eva M. Dargyay in The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet, (Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1977). T. G. gDong-thog Rinpoche also states that Thang-stong rgyal-po founded the tradition of the A-lce lha-mo. Important Events in Tibetan History, (Delhi, 1968), p. 126.

48. See note #1, above.

49. Byang-chub seng-ge, Chos rgyal chen pos bka' yis 'phrin las pa sprang byang chub seng ges bar do dmyal bar byon nas 'khor 'das gyi dkar nag dbye ba'i 'bras bu'i rnam thar mdor bsdus, manuscript collection of the East Asia Library, University of Washington, f. 9a. /de nas dpag bsam ljon shing cig gi 'gram du phyin pas/ mi mda' gzhu thog pa cig lam smug po cig la sems can dung 'gyur (sic!= 'phyur) tsam yar khrid nas song/ su yin bsam pa la/ dbang phyug zhal nas/ bod gangs ri'i khrod kyi grub thob thang stong rgyal po yin gsungs/. This quotation was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Larry Epstein. Prof. Stein has commented on the connections between Thang-stong rgyal-po and the Maṇipa and 'Das-log traditions. Barde au Tibet, op.cit., note #17, p. 402.

50. These ceremonies were undoubtedly formulated

after the time of Thang-stong rgyal-po, but were based upon episodes in his life. Prof. Stein has also dealt with this tradition, <u>Ibid.</u>, pp. 514-515. There have been several articles dealing specifically with these ceremonies: "The Ceremony of Breaking the Stone," Georges de Roerich, <u>Journal of Urusvati</u>, (Himalayan Research Institute, vol. II, Jan. 1932), pp. 25-51. Siegbert Hummel, "The Tibetan Ceremony of Breaking the Stone," in the <u>History of Religions</u>, (University of Chicago, Nov. 1968, vol. 8, #2), pp. 139-142. H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, "The Ceremony of Breaking the Stone," <u>Folk</u>, (Dansk Etnograjisk Tidsskrift, vol. 4, 1962), pp. 65-70. See Chapter 4 for more information.

51. mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, <u>Grub chen thang rgyal lugs kyi thugs rje chen po'i ma ni ril sgrub gzhan phan kun khyab</u>, in the <u>sGrub thabs kun btus</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, vol. 10, pp. 590-603. The <u>Grub chen thang stong rgyal po'i lugs kyi nad brgya sman gcig ril bu dkar dmar gyi gzhung gsal byed dang bcas pa</u>, composed of two short texts for making the white and red medicinal pellets, together with a clarifying commentary by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po is found in vol. 73, pp. 335-351 of Kong-sprul's <u>Rin chen gter mdzod</u>, <u>op.cit.</u> The two basic texts, written in verse, would seem to have been composed by Thang-stong rgyal-po himself, although they lack a proper colophon. On p. 336 he refers to himself in the first person as Pha-rgan Thang-stong rgyal-po, "The Aged Father, Thang-stong rgyal-po," and on p. 339 as lCags-zam smyon-pa, "The Mad Iron Bridge Man." These writings are of special interest because they are the only concrete evidence of Thang-stong's involvement in medicine, and they contain his own statement of the vision which served as the basis for the development of the red and white medicinal pellets. A differing ver-

sion of this episode is related by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op. cit., f. 88b. That Thang-stong rgyal-po was considered a physician of some repute is indicated by the reference to him as sMan-pa, "Physician," in the Re'u mig portion of the dPag bsam ljon bzang, by Sum-pa mkhan-po, Ye-shes dpal-'byor, (New Delhi, 1959), Śatapiṭaka Series, vol. 8, pt. 3, p. 41. There is also the tradition that the lCags-po-ri Medical College in Lhasa was founded by Thang-stong rgyal-po. The Tibet Journal, (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, H.P.), Winter 1977, vol. 2, No. 4, "Education in Tibet," by Tashi Dorje, p. 33.

52. Kong-sprul, Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 1, f. 125a. /sPyan ras gzigs dang dpal rta mgrin zung du 'jug pa'i rnam 'phrul gu ru padma mngal skyes kyi tshul du byon pa grub pa'i dbang phyug thang stong rgyal po/.

53. See Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 38-39, concerning the development of the gTer-ma tradition.

54. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 33b-34a.

55. Ibid., ff. 29a, 31b. Thang-stong received the Yoga rnam-gsum from Kun-dga' snying-po, and heard all the rNying-ma teachings from rDo-rje grags-pa.

56. Ibid., ff. 25a-26a, and ff. 24a-b. See note #21 in Chapter 2 below, for more information on Don-yod rgyal-mtshan.

57. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 33a.

58. The Mahāsiddha Hūṃkara is a major figure in the transmission of the Anuyoga of the rNying-ma tradition. See Dargyay, op.cit., pp. 36 and 40-42. Thang-stong rgyal-po had the profound visionary experience of meeting Hūṃ-kara while staying in the Kong-po area of southeast Tibet. This vision caused him to remember 100,000 of his past

lives, and he told many stories from one of them to his disciples. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 112a-b.

59. The guruyoga sections of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can's Thugs sgrub rdo rje drag po rtsal are found in vols. 17-18 of Kong-sprul's Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit.

60. Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, Lha rigs kyi mkhas grub chen po 'jam dbyangs rin chen rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar, p. 295. This biography is included in the bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar, (Leh, Ladakh, 1972), Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, vol. 37.

61. bLo-bzang rgya-mtsho, Record of Teachings Received, The gSan yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama, Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, (Delhi, 1971), vol. 3, p. 287.

62. Thang-stong is specifically listed among rDo-ring-pa's rNying-ma gurus on f. 201a, of the Collected Works of mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, op.cit., vol. 19.

63. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 25a.

64. The collection of texts known as the Tshe sgrub lcags kyi sdong po, which were extracted from their place of concealment by rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can, is found in Kong-sprul's Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 29, pp. 249-269.

65. Ibid., p. 250.

66. Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bkra-shis, Byang gter lcags sdong ma lha mang gi dbang chog 'chi med grub pa'i sa bon, included in Kong-sprul's Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 29, p. 294. This author also wrote on the 'Chi med dpal ster, Thang-stong's own system of long life practices.

67. Ibid., pp. 278-279. Concerning the Vajra body (rdo-rje'i sku), see Tucci, Religions of Tibet, op.cit.,

pp. 58-59, and p. 261 note #6.

68. Preserved by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 171a. /brgya bcu phrag gcig tshe'i tshad/ tshe 'dzin lha mo'i bcud bsgrubs na/ de bas ring ba thub par 'gyur/.

69. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rin-poche. A notable exception was the great sTer-ston, 'Ja'-tshon snying-po (1585-1656) who was a bhikṣu. H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama clarifies mistaken views concerning the use of a qualified woman as karmamudrā by a yogi of highest abilities in his "Introduction" to Tantra in Tibet, The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, by Tsong-ka-pa, translated by Jeffrey Hopkins (George Allen & Unwin, London, 1977), pp. 73-74, and 240-241 note #72.

70. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 142a.

71. Ibid., f. 143a.

72. Ibid., f. 143a and 155b. There is an encounter between the mad saint gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507) and a rJe-btsun Kun-dga' bzang-mo near Tsa-ri. It seems quite probable that she is the same as Thang-stong rgyal-po's gsang-yum. Lha-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal (1473-1557), Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu slong g.yo' ba, in the bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud, (Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1971), vol. 1, ff. 9b-10a.

73. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 156b.

74. Rig-'dzin Tshe-dbang nor-bu, Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mnga' ris smad mang yul gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dwangs shel 'phrul gyi me long, cursive manuscript, 20 ff., composed in Mustang in 1749. I would like to thank Mr. David Jackson for giving me access to his copy of this unpublished text. ff. 14a: /lcam sring A grol chos kyi sgron me zhes rdo rje phag mo'i

sprul par grags shing dus der bo dong 'jigs bral gyi rjes su bzung nas yang dag pa'i ye shes brnyes pa rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug mar gyur pa zhig ste de'i skye rgyud da lta ya 'brog rje btsun mar grags pa de'o/.

75. The Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche is of the opinion that the phrase "rjes-su-bzung" in the passage quoted above implies that Chos-kyi sgron-me was the gsang-yum of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen. She first met Thang-stong rgyal-po and became his gsang-yum some five years after the death of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen in 1451. This opinion was further substantiated during a conversation with the Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche who informed me that Ven. Khri-byang Rinpoche, the tutor to H.H. the Dalai Lama, had told him that the Ya-'brog rJe-btsun-ma series were the rebirths of the gsang-yum of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen.

76. Concerning what little information there is on the Ya-'brog rJe-btsun-ma series, see "Samdhing Dorjee Phagmo---Tibet's Only Female Incarnation," by K. Dhondup & Tashi Tsering, Tibet Review, (New Delhi, Aug. 1979), vol. XIV no. 8, pp. 11-17. These authors have noted the reference in Tshe-dbang nor-bu's text, but fail to identify Chos-kyi sgron-me as the gsang-yum of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen, or Thang-stong rgyal-po. Bo-dong Paṇ-chen's biography is to be published by the Tibet House Library, New Delhi, and it could provide valuable information concerning Chos-kyi sgron-me.

77. Si-tu Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, op.cit., ff. 186b. /Thang rgyal gsang yum chos kyi sgron ma'i thugs dam bde mchog dkar po bal bris dkyil thang/.

78. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 67b.

79. Ibid., f. 143a.

80. The teachings of the _'Chi med dpal ster_ exist in many versions. The most important collections are: _Tshe sgrub nye brgyud kyi sgrub thabs 'chi med grub pa'i zhal lung_, and _Nye brgyud tshe sgrub 'chi med dpal ster gyi dbang chog bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun_, by the 7th lCags-zam-pa, Ye-shes lhun-grub which are included in mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po's _sGrub thabs kun btus_, _op.cit._, vol. 13, pp. 592-622; and the _Nye brgyud tshe rta zung 'brel 'chi med dpal ster gyi sgrub thabs dbang chog man ngag dang bcas pa_, _ibid._, vol. 1, pp. 427-470. This latter title includes works by the Sa-skya master Kun-dga' bkra-shis, and the great mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, and reflects the form in which the _'Chi med dpal ster_ has been passed down in the Sa-skya school.

81. mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, _sGrub thabs kun btus_, _op.cit._, vol. 1, p. 440. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, _op.cit._, ff. 48a-51b.

82. This is stated most clearly by the rNying-ma-pa master gTer-bdag gling-pa (1646-1714) on pp. 189-190 of his treatise concerning these practices found on pp. 185-195 of the _sGrub thabs 'dod 'jo'i bum bzang_, vol. 1, (Gantok, 1977), a collection of texts put together by him and his brother Lo-chen Dharma-śrī (1654-1718). In Thang-stong rgyal-po's biography, however, there is no mention of the _'Chi med dpal ster_ by name among the gter-ma texts which Thang-stong extracted from the wall of the cave in mChims-phu. It is interesting that the appearance of the gTer-ma trove was heralded by the shape of a glowing red shield in the rock interior of the cave, encircled in a clockwise fashion by the dhāraṇī-mantra of Amitāyus which is said to vanquish the powers of Death. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, _op.cit._, f. 58b.

83. *The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po*, *op.-cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 325-326. The original source of these quotes is found in rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can's *lCags kyi sdong po*, p. 260, vol. 29 of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, *op.-cit.*, edited by Kong-sprul.

84. Ye-shes lhun-grub, *bDud rtsi'i chu rgyun*, p. 613 in vol. 13 of mKhyen-brtse's *sGrub thabs kun btus*, *op.cit.*

85. *Ibid.*, pp. 613-614.

86. Dzam-gling rdo-rje, Chos-rje gling-pa, *bKa' gter dag snang zung du 'brel ba'i tshe sgrub shin tu nye brgyud kyi sgrub thabs dbang chog dang bcas pa*, in mKhyen-brtse's *sGrub thabs kun btus*, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 471-480.

87. For a useful delineation of the various lineages of Thang-stong's longevity practices, see *The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po*, *op.cit.*, vol. 4, pp. 380-381.

88. mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, *sGrub thabs kun btus*, *op.cit.*, vol. 1, pp. 436-437.

89. Ye-shes lhun-grub, *op.cit.*, p. 613. gTer-bdag gling-pa, *op.cit.*, p. 8.

90. *The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po*, *op.cit.*, vol. 4, p. 381.

91. *Gong chos srung gi rjes 'brel grub chen thang rgyal lugs dpal rdo rje nag po chen po gur mgon sprin zhabs kyi sgrub thabs rjes gnang dang bcas pa nye brgyud thun mong ma yin pa*, and the *Thang rgyal lugs kyi bram nag shan pa drug bskor*, both in mKhyen-brtse's *sGrub thabs kun btus*, *op.cit.*, vol. 14, pp. 324-335 and 336-349. The guru-yoga teachings are in vol. 10, pp. 33-53, *Thang rgyal lugs kyi bla ma rdo rje 'chang gi sgom lung mchod chog dang*

bcas pa. These texts are all later compositions.

92. Kong-sprul, rGya chen bka' mdzod, op.cit., vol. 15, pp. 351 and 439.

93. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, Grub thob chen po'i thugs tig las. smin byed kyi lag len khrigs su bsdebs pa legs bshad snying po, in the Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 17, pp. 190-191.

94. See note #33 above.

95. Kong-sprul, Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 17, p. 180.

96. mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, sGrub thabs snying po skor lnga, p. 451 of vol. 4 of the Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., edited by Kong-sprul.

97. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 33b.

98. E.G. Smith in his "Preface" to The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang dpal-bzang, Abbot of Kaḥthog Monastery, (Gantok, 1969), p. 3, gives a clear explanation of the rNying-ma gter-ma tradition: "In Tibet the principle of continuing revelation takes three forms: the rediscovery of texts and holy objects (sa-gter) buried by Padmasambhava and his colleagues for revelation at a future time, the spontaneous appearance of teachings that were concealed in the transmigrating principle of associates of Padmasambhava for propagation by future emanations (dgongs-gter), and instructions passed on by manifestations of gurus and tutelaries in visions (dag-snang)."

99. Kong-sprul, Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 17, pp. 167-231.

100. Ibid., vol. 4, pp. 449-612.

101. Ibid., vol. 24, pp. 261-547, and vol. 25, pp.

1-115.

102. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 49b.

103. Kong-sprul, Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 17. The tshe-sgrub practices and the rdo-rje tshig-rkang are found in the bla-sgrub section, pp. 181-186, 217-227, and 229-231.

104. Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., vol. 2, p. 126. Kong-sprul, Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 71, rJe grub thob chen pos klong chen nam mkha'i rnal 'byor la dag snang du stsal ba thugs rje byams pa'i man ngag 'gro ba'i srog 'dzin, pp. 19-23.

105. The Collected Works of mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, op.cit., vol. 19, p. 328.

106. The Autobiography of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen, (N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsan, Delhi, 1971), p. 559. The Collected Revelations of brTul-zhugs gling-pa, (New Delhi, 1977), pp. 183-227.

107 Henry Corbin in his book Creative Imagination in the Sūfism of Ibn 'Arabī, (Bollingen Series XCI, Princeton University Press, 1969), gives a compelling account of this kind of visionary process in the context of Islamic mysticism. See for example p. 67.

Chapter 2

THANG-STONG RGYAL-PO

1361-1485?

One of the problems in beginning a study of Thang-stong rgyal-po is the difficulty of establishing precisely when he lived. The dates for his birth and death, and the tradition of a 124-year life span have long been subjects of controversy among Tibetan and Western scholars. This is no doubt due to the lack of source material about him, the mythical nature of his image in Tibetan cultural history, and the basic difficulty of accepting as fact that he lived to be 124 years old.[1] In the West, the generallv accepted dates for Thang-stong rgyal-po have been 1385-1464. R.A. Stein and G. Tucci use these dates, although both possess copies of the biography I have used, in which it is said that the great saint lived from 1361 until 1485.[2] Stein acknowledges these dates are in his redaction of the text, but prefers to regard this 124-year life span as a later pious fabrication. He follows Tucci in accepting the dates 1385-1464 which he says are found in the Re'u Mig of Sum-pa mkhan-po, and the Vai dūrya dkar po of sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho.[3] I have checked the Re'u Mig and found 1385 given, but there is no mention of Thang-stong in the entry for 1464.[4] The same holds true

for the Vaiḍūrya dkar po.[5] E.G. Smith has arrived at two different sets of possible dates, 1361-1464 and 1421-1524.[6]

Confusion over Thang-stong's dates is not confined to Western writers. Tibetan authorities over the centuries have varied tremendously in their opinions, only agreeing that he lived a very long life. The life span of 137 years mentioned by Ngor-chen Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs is the longest to my knowledge, and I have found no age given in a Tibetan source of less than 124 years.[7] Ka-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu says Thang-stong was 56 years old at the beginning of the 8th sexagenary cycle, which would place his birth at 1391,[8] and 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul gives the age of 124 years, but no dates.[9] Both dPal-ldan tshul-khrims and bDud-'joms Rinpoche in their histories place his birth in the shing-glang year of the 6th sexagenary cycle (1385), and say he lived for 124 years.[10] T.G. gDong-thog Rinpoche has recently agreed with these later dates, giving sa-sbrul of the 9th cycle (1509) as the death date.[11] The biography itself gives the birth date as the 10th day of the cho-'phrul month of lcags-mo-glang (1361) and the death date as the 8th day of the cho-'phrul month of shing-mo-sbrul (1485) in the 8th cycle. It states very specifically that Thang-stong lived for two sexagenary cycles plus five single years, and that if the extra months and days of the irregular Tibetan calendar were counted, it could be

considered that he lived to be 127 years old.[12] The 7th lCags-zam heirarch, Ye-shes lhun-grub (b.1738), who was a direct recipient of all the remaining lineages from Thang-stong rgyal-po and would have had access to the pertinent oral and textual information, gives precisely the same dates. He also mentions the age of 127 years, which I believe is accounted for by the explanation given above.[13] The Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche is also of the opinion that Thang-stong rgyal-po lived to the age of 124 years.[14]

From this brief sketch it can be seen that the dating of Thang-stong is indeed a difficult problem, but I believe that using the internal evidence in the biography itself, supplemented with information gathered from other Tibetan sources, we may be able to pin down the most probable dates for his life.

The biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po provides a birth date of 1361, and then no other dates until that of 1430 for the building of his first iron bridge over the sKyid-chu.[15] This lack of information leaves the researcher with the sole options of attempting to date events which are also found in other sources, and with identifying the teachers and other persons that are mentioned in the narrative. In the case of Thang-stong rgyal-po, the lamas with whom he studied in his early life and the political figures he met are, with precious few exceptions,

almost unknown in the historical literature of the time. Meetings with the known figures are almost impossible to date except by estimation. Attempting to determine whether he was born in 1361 or 1385 is therefore like working on a puzzle without all the pieces. There is, however, some information which indicates that the earlier date is more probable.

To begin with we should look at Thang-stong rgyal-po's own statement, "In my last life I was called Dol-po the Omniscient, but in this life I am called Crazy brTson-'grus."[16] The accepted dates for the great Jo-nang master Kun-mkhyen Dol-po, Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan are 1292-1361. We can see from this that Thang-stong himself considered that his last life ended in 1361. His next rebirth would presumably have taken place soon thereafter. It should also be noted that the prophecies of Padmasambhava state that Thang-stong would be born on a glang year, and live to at least the age of 109 years.[17] Although it cannot be considered proof, this type of information should certainly be taken into account.

The problem of determining whether Thang-stong was born before 1385 centres upon dating his studies of the gShin-rje-gshed precepts under the guidance of the notable Sa-skya master rJe-btsun Re-mda'-ba, gZhon-nu blo-gros (1349-1412) who was also the guru of Tsong-kha-pa.[18]

Thang-stong's meeting with Re-mda'-ba is verified in Re-mda'-ba's short biography and other sources,[19] but it is Thang-stong's biography we must rely upon for the vital chronology of his life up until this point. When examining events in his life before he met Re-mda'-ba, it becomes obvious that he could not possibly have been born as late as 1385. He received full ordination as a dge-slong from the great master bKa'-lnga-pa dPal-'byor shes-rab,[20] and soon after retired for three years of secluded meditation at Ri-bo bkra-bzang.[21] It is prescribed in the Vinaya code that a person must be twenty years of age to receive the vows of full ordination,[22] and so by the end of this retreat he must have been at least twenty-three years old. He then traveled to Nepal and India in search of religious instruction, and studied with such masters as Paṇḍita Mahābodhi at Swayambunāth in the Kathmandu valley.[23] After eighteen years, he returned to his home in Tibet,[24] received the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud teachings, and went into retreat for a seven-year period. Only after this was completed did he travel to meet rJe-btsun Re-mda'-ba. By this time Thang-stong must have been at least forty-eight years old, and if he was born in 1385, this would mean he could not have met Re-mda'-ba before 1433. It is well established that rJe-btsun Re-mda'-ba passed away in 1412. If we accept the date of 1361 for Thang-stong's birth, and

assume he was about forty-eight when meeting Re-mda'-ba, we would arrive at the year 1409. This is three years before Re-mda'-ba died, and it is apparent from his short biography that it was near the end of his life when Thang-stong came to study with him.

Although the scope of the present study does not permit extensive details to be given, it is probable that a close survey of the Byang Ngam-ring genealogy for this period would yield valuable hints for dating Thang-stong rgyal-po. He was intimately connected with this myriarchy and its' rulers from a very early age. Gu'i-gung Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan, holder of the Ta'i Si'tu title, advised Thang-stong's parents to place him in a monastery.[25] Although we have no dates for this ruler, his father, Ta'i-dben Nam-mkha' brtan-pa was born in 1316, and his son, Gu'i-gung Chos-grags dpal-bzang was a contemporary of bDag-chen bSod-nams bkra-shis (1352-1407).[26] Many years later, the most important patron for Thang-stong rgyal-po's building projects in La-stod Byang was Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan's grandson rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395-1475).[27] This king's son Nam-mkha' rdo-rje became one of Thang-stong's greatest disciples.[28] Thang-stong pursued some early studies at Ngam-ring, and aided Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan's son-in-law, Sa-skya bDag-chen bSod-nams bkra-shis (1352-1407) in building the rGyang 'Bum-mo-che stūpa

near Lha-rtse.[29] In Tucci's opinion this stūpa was constructed before 1400, and if true this would add further weight to the argument for 1361 as the year of Thang-stong's birth.[30]

There is a considerable amount of more concrete evidence to indicate that Thang-stong rgyal-po did not pass away until 1485. In the Shangs pa gser 'phreng there is a short biography of Lo-chen 'Gyur-med bde-chen, the author of the biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po which has been used for this study.[31] This short biography written by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse dbang-po states that 'Gyur-med bde-chen was a disciple of Kun-dga' grol-mchog (1495-1566) and that he was born in a lcags-pho-byi year, which must correspond to 1540. Thang-stong's biography was written in a sa-bya year 125 years after his death.[32] This can only be 1609, placing the death date at 1485.

E.G. Smith has stated that the last date given in the biography is sa-mo-yos (1459),[33] but in fact there are four later dates provided. In the shing-mo-'brug year (1484) Thang-stong presided over the consecration of various completed building and printing projects.[34] Later that year such well known dignitaries as the Rin-spungs Lord mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (d.1510), and bKra-shis dar-rgyas, ruler of the myriarchy of Bya, came to dPal Ri-bo-che to invite Thang-stong to their respective areas to continue

his building activities.[35] mTsho-skyes rdo-rje succeeded his father Rin-spungs Nang-so, Nor-bu bzang-po whom we know died in the summer of the me-khyi year (1466).[36] This meeting probably took place after 1466, indicating that Thang-stong could not have died in 1464.

Thang-stong did not accept the invitations extended to him in 1484, but sent his successor bsTan-'dzin Nyi-ma bzang-po (b.1436) to begin a bridge at Nya-mgo in the first of the sbrul year (1485) which was completed by the seventh month of the same year.[37] The last date in the biography is for Thang-stong's miraculous death in the cho-'phrul month of the shing-mo-sbrul year (1485).[38]

All of this information could, however, be considered biased because it is found in the biography itself. It would be most convincing to present evidence from other totally unrelated sources. Upon investigation of the two available biographies of the mad saint, gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507), we find that as a young man he traveled to dPal Ri-bo-che to meet Thang-stong rgyal-po.[39] The meeting is not recorded in Thang-stong's biography, but is found in both versions of gTsang-smyon's, with only minor variations. The longer biography by sNa-tshogs rang-grol does not date the event, but the earlier one by Lha-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal specifies that gTsang-smyon was 24 years old when he went to Ri-bo-che. We know he

was born in 1452, and consequently the meeting must have occurred in 1476. The picture we receive from these two accounts fits very well with that found in Thang-stong's biography in which the great ascetic is shown spending his last years at Ri-bo-che in near seclusion.

In addition to this meeting, which at least shows Thang-stong to be alive and well in 1476, I have been able to locate another datable meeting in the biography of 'Jam-dbyangs Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan written by rDo-brag Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las (1646-1718).[40] 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen was the father of mNga'-ris Pan-chen Padma dbang-rgyal (1487-1542) and the grandson of the king of Gung-thang, and therefore descended from the ancient Tibetan kings. He is known to have been born in the stag year which corresponds to 1466, and traveled from his birthplace in gLo (Mustang) to Dbus-gtsang when 20 years of age.[41] He was at Chu-bar in the 10th to 11th months of the 'brug year (1472) and it is said he spent nine years in all in Dbus-gtsang. Returning to gLo, he sent his party ahead, and at the advice of his guru gTer-ston Kun-skyong gling-pa (1396-1477/83) went to meet Thang-stong rgyal-po at dPal Ri-bo-che. The great saint was in seclusion when he arrived, which again agrees with the description of his last years found in the biography, but 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen remained for a lengthy period and received many

teachings and prophecies.[42] We can see from these dates that the earliest 'Jam-dbyangs rin-chen could have met Thang-stong is approximately 1475, and possibly as late as 1481 if the nine-year stay in Dbus-gtsang is counted from his first stop at Chu-bar.

During the last years of his life, one of the main disciples of Thang-stong rgyal-po was Shes-rab dpal-ldan. He was from the Byang capital of Ngam-ring, and a member of a prominent family line of physicians.[43] Previously in the Byang medical line, Lha-btsun bKra-shis dpal-bzang had also been a disciple of Thang-stong.[44] Shes-rab dpal-ldan's father had met rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can (1337-1407) and was a great physician and disciple of the physician-king of Byang, rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395-1475).[45] Shes-rab dpal-ldan also studied with rNam-rgyal grags-bzang, and received the Kālacakra initiations from the Indian Paṇḍita Vanaratna (1384-1468) during his third trip to Tibet in 1453.[46] When he was 25 years old, Shes-rab dpal-ldan went to Ri-bo-che and met Thang-stong rgyal-po. He served Thang-stong as his close personal attendant, and presumably physician, for 16 years and was the only disciple present at Thang-stong's passing.[47] He was instructed by Thang-stong to conceal the fact of his death, and place his body in an upright position with one hand pointing to the north towards Mongolia in order to

prevent further invasion. Thang-stong asked him to keep his death secret for 100 years, or 50 years, or at the least 30 years, because the Mongols would not come as long as they believed he was still present in Tibet.[48] Shes-rab dpal-ldan succeeded in concealing Thang-stong's death and served as his regent for 32 years. Finally, in a _me-glang_ year, Thang-stong's remains were placed in a silver stupa as their final resting place.[49]

This information about Shes-rab dpal-ldan allows us to reconstruct some dates for his life, and indicates Thang-stong's death date to be 1485. If he was 25 when he came to Ri-bo-che, and served Thang-stong for 16 years before he passed away, Shes-rab dpal-ldan was 41 years old in either 1464 or 1485. He was therefore born in either 1423 or 1444. As previously mentioned, Shes-rab dpal-ldan met Paṇḍita Vanaratna before he came to be Thang-stong's disciple. If he was born in 1423 and went to Ri-bo-che in 1448 when 25 years old, he would not have been in Ngam-ring for the Indian master's arrival. On the other hand, if born in 1444, he would have been in Ngam-ring as a young boy when Vanaratna came in 1453. He would then have gone to Ri-bo-che in 1469 and remained with Thang-stong for 16 years until 1485. After concealing Thang-stong's death and serving as his regent for 32 years, presumably he then died at the age of 74 in the

me-glang year (1517) at which time Thang-stong's body was enshrined. If calculations were made from the other suggested death date of 1464 (*shing-sprel*) we would arrive at 1496, a *me-'brug* year, not a *me-glang* as specified for the interment.

The combined weight of these findings certainly makes the death date of 1485 as given in the biography seem correct, and that of 1464 most improbable. There is, as far as I have been able to determine, no evidence whatsoever to place Thang-stong's death before 1485. The question of his birth date is, however, considerably more troublesome. It can certainly be established that he was active before 1400, but to prove whether he was born in 1361 or 1385 could, at this time, only be done through circumstantial evidence. There is no way to come to a conclusive solution without access to more precise historical material. I have examined the available biographies and histories of the 14th and 15th centuries, but would not be surprised to see more supportive evidence turn up during future research. In light of these investigations, I maintain the dates 1361-1485 as presented in the biography to be correct for Thang-stong rgyal-po. The establishing of the birth date is still not finally settled, but I see no reason not to accept it provisionally at this point.

The major problem thus becomes that of simply accepting the idea of a 124-year life span. There are accounts of longevity of this nature even in the present day. In Tibet there are many instances of famous figures living very long lives. The great translator Rin-chen bzang-po (958-1055) lived to be 97,[50] and Ma-gcig lab-sgron to the age of 98.[51] Thang-stong's own gurus Kun-spangs Don-yod rgyal-mtshan and mKhas-grub Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan lived to be 99 and 92 years old respectively.[52] The most famous Tibetan physician g.Yu-thog Yon-tan mgon-po is said to have lived to the age of 125 years,[53] and the rNying-ma saint Rong-zom Chos-kyi bzang-po died when 118.[54] A present day example can be found in the Indian yogin Shrī Govindananda, who was born in Kerala in 1826, and died in Nepal in 1963.[55]

A final topic which should be mentioned in this context is Thang-stong's connection with the 'Chi med dpal ster practices for achieving longevity.[56] I do not believe that it is possible to dismiss the statements of his long life by using the argument that later tradition attributed an extraordinarily long life to him simply to instill confidence in practitioners of his techniques, that they too could live to ripe old age. The transmission of these long-life techniques comes down to us through a series of lamas that are well known. Kun-spangs rdo-ring-pa

(1449-1524), the guru of Tshar-chen bLo-gsal rgya-mtsho (1502-1567), was the recipient of the rituals from Thang-stong himself,[57] making it quite clear that the teachings were extant during Thang-stong's life, and could not have been a later fabrication. Rather than assuming his long life to be a fable created by later lamas providing a rationale for performing his meditations, it seems more logical to assume that these teachings were treasured and passed down through the centuries precisely because of the longevity achieved through them by Thang-stong and several of his disciples.[58]

Notes

1. In Tibetan tradition a person is counted as one year old upon birth. Therefore, whenever an age is given in a Tibetan text, it must be interpreted accordingly. I have translated all ages after first subtracting one year from that given in the Tibetan text.

2. R.A. Stein, Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet, op.cit., pp.32, 238. See also G. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, 3 vols., (Rome, 1949), vol. 1, p.163. Thang-stong rgyal-po's birth and death dates are given by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 10a and 171b.

3. R.A. Stein, ibid., p.238.

4. Sum-pa mkhan-po, Ye-shes dpal-'byor, dPag bsam ljon bzang, op.cit., p.41. The Re'u mig is a chronological table. In the entry for the shing-glang year of the 6th cycle (1385) we find: /sman pa Thang stong rgyal po skyes/.

5. Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, sDe-srid (1653-1705), Vai dūrya dkar po, (New Delhi, 1972), ff. 20b: /shing glang (1385) tshe yi rig 'dzin mchog/ Thang stong rgyal po'i 'khrung lo yin/. Parts of the chronological tables of this text are translated in A Grammar of the Tibetan Language in English, by Alexander Csoma de Koros, (The Altai Press, Inc., Triad Reprints).

6. E.G. Smith, "Introduction" to the Shangs pa gser 'phreng, op.cit., p.4. Smith and Tucci have both apparently calculated Thang-stong's dates based upon a misreading of the date of the composition of his biography, as pointed out by John Ardussi, Some Notes on the Dates of Thang-stong rgyal-po and His Connection with the

Development of the Rituals of Long Life and the Masked Dance, mimeographed paper for the Inner Asia Colloquium, University of Washington, p.4. The date in our biography and that of Stein is *sa-bya*, but Tucci and Smith both give the date *sa-byi*. They have most probably misread the *bya* element which is in the genitive *bya'i* in the text, and taken it for *byi*.

7. Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, Ngor-chen, *rGyal ba rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i rnam par thar pa legs bshad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho yon tan yid bzhin nor bu'i 'byung gnas*, (Trayang and Jamyang Samten, New Delhi, 1976), p.231.

8. Tshe-dbang nor-bu, Ka-thog rig-'dzin (1698-1755), *Sangs rgyas bstan pa rin po che ji ltar gnas gyur dus kyi nges pa rjes su dran pa bskyed pa legs bshad sa bon tsam smos pa nyung ngu don gsal rin po che sgron me*, in the *Collected Works of Kah-thog Tshe-dbang Nor-bu*, (Dalhousie, H.P., 1977), vol. 4, Khi p. 157.

9. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, vol. 1 of the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, *op.cit.*, ff. 125a.

10. The account of Thang-stong rgyal-po's life found in bDud-'joms Rinpoche's history of the rNying-ma-pa school, *op.cit.*, ff. 289a is identical to Kong-sprul's but with the added birth date, and mention of the saint's invention of the A-lce lha-mo dances. mKhas-btsun bzang-po in his *Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism*, (Dharamsala, H.P., 1973), has simply copied bDud-'joms Rinpoche's work. See also dPal-ldan tshul-khrims, *Chos 'byung kun gsal me long*, (Bonpo Monastic Centre, H.P., 1971), p.328.

11. T.G.gDong-thog Rinpoche, op.cit., p.61.

12. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 171b : /drug cu skor gnyis dang lo rkyang lnga'i ngo thog gshol rtsis pas dgung lo brgya dang nyer brgyad bzhes pa drug cu skor brgyad pa'i shing mo sbrul lo.../.

The Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche informs me that the term "gshol-rtsis" refers to the calculation of the "zla-lhag," or extra months sometimes found in the Tibetan year. It seems that every three years there is an extra month, ie. a 13 month year. This is not usually mentioned when stating someone's age, but because of Thang-stong rgyal-po's longevity, it is here stated for extra emphasis. I believe that this information provides a satisfactory explanation for the fact that the age of 127 years is sometimes encountered instead of the normal 124.

13. Ye-shes lhun-grub, in mKhyen-brtse's sGrub thabs kun btus, op.cit., vol. 13, pp. 608, 613.

14. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, Kun-dga' bstan-pa'i nyi-ma.

15. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 78a.

16. Ibid., f. 6b : /Grub thob chen po rang gi gsung las/ nga skye ba snga ma la kun mkhyen dol po zer/ skye ba 'di la smyon pa brtson 'grus zer/. brTson-'grus bzang-po was the name he received upon ordination.

17. Ibid., f. 10a : /skyes bu mtshan bzang glang lo pa/. Also f. 171a : /brgya bcu phrag gcig tshe'i tshad/ tshe 'dzin lha mo'i bcud bsgrubs na/ de was ring ba thub par 'gyur/. These prophecies are from the Lung bstan gsal ba'i sgron me as quoted by 'Gyur-med bde-chen. There is also mention of Thang-stong being born on a glang year, in a praise to him composed by his disciple bKa'-bcu-pa rGyal-

mtshan bzang-po. This is found in vol. 4 of The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po, op.cit., f. 31a. It should be noted that both 1361 and 1385 are glang years.

18. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 36b.

19. Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, Tshe-mchog-gling Yongs-'dzin, Byang chub lam kyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa rgyal bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog phul byung nor bu'i phreng ba, Gendan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series, vol. XIX, (Ngawang Gelek Demo, New Delhi, 1972). Re-mda'-ba's biography is found on pp. 929-954 of vol. 2, and the meeting with Thang-stong on p. 942. There is disagreement between the two biographies as to where the meeting took place. Thang-stong's biography states Gangs-bu-le, but Re-mda'-ba's says the forest of Me-tog mdangs-can near sKyid-grong.

20. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 23b-24a. dPal-'byor shes-rab was an influential master of the late 14th and early 15th centuries, of whom we have very little information. He gave the ordination name brTson-'grus bzang-po to Thang-stong, and passed on to him the "Ma-nam-mkha'-ma" refuge formula which has since been a distinctive feature of ritual practices transmitted from Thang-stong. He and Thang-stong, along with Rong-ston Shes-bya kun-rig (1367-1449), dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan (1388-1469), dGe-legs dpal-bzang (1385-1438), and others, were disciples together under Mus-chen Nam-mkha'i rnal-'byor. See Shangs pa gser 'phreng, op.cit., p. 666. dKon-mchog rgyal-mtshan's studies with dPal-'byor shes'rab can be dated to 1421, according to 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs, Ngag-dban kun-dga' bsod-nams (1597-1658) in his dPal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi nying khu 'khor lo sdom pa'i dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa bde mchog chos kun gsal ba'i nyin

byed, (Nawang Tobgay, New Delhi, 1974), p. 543. dPal-'byor shes-rab founded the rDzong-chos-sde in 1427, and was for a time abbot of Ngams-ring chos-sde. See the Dam pa'i chos kyi byung tshul legs par bshad pa bstan pa rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen zhes bya ba rtsam 'phro kha skong bcas, by dKon-mchog lhun-'grub and Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, (Ngawang Tobgay, New Delhi, 1973), p. 337. The Byang king rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395-1475) was also a disciple of dPal-'byor shes-rab. dPal ldan gso ba rig pa'i khog 'bugs legs bshad bai durya'i me long drang srong dgyes pa'i dga' ston, published as Ayurveda in Tibet, (Tashi Tashigang, Leh,1970), by sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho (1653-1705), p. 311. dPal-'byor shes-rab was one of Thang-stong's primary gurus, and was nearing his death when last visited by him in about 1435, as recorded by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 94b.

21. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, ibid., ff. 24b-26a. Thang-stong's guru at Ri-bo bkra'-bzang was Kun-spangs Don-yod rgyal-mtshan, a great master of the Byang-gter tradition of the rNying-ma school. He gave Thang-stong the name Khro-bo dpal-ldan at birth, and was his most important early teacher. Nothing is known of him except that he was a direct disciple of the gTer-ston, Rig-'dzin rgod-gyi dlem-phru-can (1337-1407), whose hidden teachings he passed to Thang-stong. See for instance, Bod du byung ba'i gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim byon gyi rnam thar nor bu'i do shal, A History of the Nyingmapa Tradition, (Dalhousie, H.P., 1976), by Rig-'dzin Kun-bzang nges-don klong-yangs, p. 156. Don-yod rgyal-mtshan apparently lived to be 99 years old. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 130b.

22. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, 6/6/78.

23. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 26b. The Nepalese Paṇḍita Mahābodhi lived in Ye-rang (Kathmandu) during the late 14th and early 15th centuries. He was a great master of the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra, and the source of all transmissions of the Bong-zhal form of bDe-mchog which came to Tibet. Thang-stong received from him many teachings of the bDe-mchog cycle, as did the bKa'-brgyud-pa master kLong-chen-ras-pa Rin-chen tshul-khrims, a disciple of 'Ba-ra-ba rGyal-mtshan dpal-bzang (1310-1391?) and Ri-pa gZhon-nu rgyal-mtshan (1311-1391). See dKar brgyud gser 'phreng, Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, (Leh, Ladakh, 1970), by Mon-rtse-pa Kun-dga' dpal-ldan, vol. 3, p. 492. Gu-ge Paṇ-chen Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan accompanied Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382-1456) during his third trip to gLo (Mustang) in 1446-47 and received the Bong-zhal bDe-mchog initiations from the lama bSam-gtan 'od-zer who was a disciple of Paṇḍita Mahābodhi. 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, op.cit., p. 545. Ngor-chen had earlier received the transmission of the Vajrācāryakriyasamuccaya from his teacher 'Phags-pa gZhon-nu blo-gros who had journeyed to Kathmandu to request it from Paṇḍita Mahābodhi. Roerich, The Blue Annals, op.cit., pp. 1045-1047.

24. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 31b.

25. Ibid., f. 15b. In this text his title is spelled "Gus-gum."

26. For information on these three rulers and the history of the Byang Ngam-ring myriarchy, see sDe pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che bstar ba, by dPal-ldan Chos-kyi bzang-po, published as part of Rare Tibetan

Historical and Literary Texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa, (New Delhi, 1974). See also Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., Genealogical Table IV.

27. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 131a, 135a. His dates are found in sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, Ayurveda in Tibet, op.cit., pp. 311, 315.

28. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 170a. Whether Thang-stong's disciple Chos-rgyal Nam-mkha' rdo-rje was the son of rNam-rgyal grags-bzang, and the ruler at Ngam-ring is difficult to prove at this time. dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po, Byang-pa'i rgyal rabs, op.cit., p. 193, says that rNam-rgyal grags-bzang had a child named Nam-mkha' rdo-rje, but it was a daughter (sras mo). I suspect this is a scribal error. In the biography of Go-ram bSod-nams seng-ge (1429-1489), we find mention of the king of Byang, who was named Nam-mkha' rdo-rje. He was a patron of Go-ram-pa's during the years 1484-1487. See Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar, (T.G. Dhongthog, Delhi, 1973), by W. Kong-ston, pp. 56-58. This same Byang king is mentioned also in the biography of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507), during a time of warfare between Byang and Lho. The Life of the Saint of gTsang, (New Delhi, 1969), Śata-piṭaka Series, vol. 79, by rGod-tshang-ras-pa, sNa-tshogs rang-grol, pp. 61-67.

29. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 180. More information on this lama is found on pp. 435-436 of the 'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung, (Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, H.P., 1975), by 'Jam-mgon A-myes-zhabs, Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod nams, but the date of the stūpa

construction is not given.

30. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., p. 179.

31. Shangs pa gser 'phreng, op.cit., pp. 669-670.

32. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 173a.

33. Shangs pa gser 'phreng, "Introduction," op.cit., p. 4.

34. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 162b.

35. Ibid., f. 168b. mTsho-skyes rdo-rje's death is given in G. Tucci's Deb ther dmar po gsar ma -- The New Red Annals, (Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1971), p. 229. bKra-shis dar-rgyas was a powerful figure, and the patron of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka (1452-1507), as well as 'Gos-lo-tsa gZhon-nu-dpal (1392-1481). He was responsible for the printing of the Blue Annals in 1478, according to Roerich's introduction, op.cit., p.ii. For an example of his relations with gTsang-smyon, see Lha-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, op.cit., pp. 18-19.

36. Nor-bu bzang-po was one of the great leaders of Rin-spungs. His death is dated in Tucci, The New Red Annals, op.cit., p. 223. He was the patron of many important lamas of the time such as Go-ram-pa bSod-nams seng-ge (1429-1489). Kong-ston, op.cit., pp. 22, 24.

37. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 169a-b.

38. Ibid., f. 171b.

39. Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, op.cit., ff. 21a-21b. sNa-tshogs rang-grol, op.cit., ff. 23b-24a.

40. Rig-'dzin Padma 'phrin-las, op.cit., pp. 295-296.

41. Ibid., p. 291.

42. _Ibid._, pp. 293-296. For information on the gTer-ston, Kun-skyong gling-pa, see Kong-sprul, _Rin chen gter mdzod_, vol. 1, _op.cit._, f. 74b, and also Kun-bzang nges-don klong-yangs, _op.cit._, pp. 207-216.

43. See sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, _Ayurveda in Tibet_, _op.cit._, pp. 310-332 for information on the Byang medical lineage. All material on Shes-rab dpal-ldan is on p. 327.

44. _Ibid._, p. 323.

45. His father was Legs-grub-dpal. _Ibid._, pp. 326-327.

46. Roerich, George N., _The Blue Annals_, _op.cit._, pp. 797-805. Vanaratna's Tibetan name is Nags-kyi rin-chen. This interesting Indian master was the last important Paṇḍita to travel to Tibet. An excerpt from his biography is quoted by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, _op.cit._, ff. 121b-122a.

47. sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, _Ayurveda in Tibet_. _op.cit._, p. 327, and also 'Gyur-med bde-chen, _op.cit._, f. 172b. Curiously, Kong-sprul says that it was Nyi-ma bzang-po who was present at Thang-stong's death. Kong-sprul, _Rin chen gter mdzod_, _op.cit._, f. 126a. It is quite clear in the biography that _Thugs-sras_ Shes-rab dpal-ldan, and not _bsTan-'dzin_ Nyi-ma bzang-po, was at Ri-bo-che for Thang-stong's death. Nyi-ma bzang-po was still away building the iron bridge at Nya-mgo as directed by Thang-stong earlier in the same year. Shes-rab dpal-ldan even requested Thang-stong to delay his nirvāṇa until _bsTan-'dzin Rin-po-che_ returned. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, _op.cit._, ff. 171b-172a.

48. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, _ibid._, f. 172b.

49. *Ibid.*, f. 172b. sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, *Ayurveda in Tibet*, p. 327, states very specifically that Shes-rab dpal-ldan concealed the death and remained as *sku-tshab* (regent) for 32 years after Thang-stong died: /grub dbang nyid zhing khams 'phos nas lo sum cu so gnyis kyi ring gsang khog nas sku tshab mdzad de.../. It is interesting that sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, the author of this text, was responsible for concealing the death of the 5th Dalai Lama Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, from 1682-1695. D. Snellgrove and H. Richardson, *A Cultural History of Tibet*, (Fredrick Praeger, 1968), p. 204.

50. Roerich, George N., *The Blue Annals*, *op.cit.*, p. 69.

51. *gCod kyi chos skor*, (New Delhi, Tibet House, 1974). Her age is given on f. 38a of the *Phung po gzan skyur gyi rnam bshad gcod kyi don gsal byed*, the second text of the collection, by Ngag-dbang mkhyen-rab.

52. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, *op.cit.*, f. 130b, and *gShangs pa gser 'phreng*, *op.cit.*, p. 666.

53. Rechung Rinpoche, *Tibetan Medicine*, (University of California, 1976), p. 320.

54. *Rong-zom bka' 'bum*, (Kunsang Topgay, Thimphu, Bhutan, 1976). The age of Rong-zom is given in the first text of the collection, *Rong zom gsung 'bum dkar chag me tog phreng ba*, f. 7b, by 'Jam-mgon 'Ju mi-pham rgya-mtsho.

55. Snellgrove and Richardson, *op.cit.*, p. 138, in a note referring to J.S. Bennett's *Long Pilgrimage*, (London, 1965).

56. These teachings are preserved in many collections, most notably mKhyen-brtse'i dbang-po's *sGrub thabs*

kun btus, op.cit., vols. 1, 13.

57. Ibid., vol. 13, p. 613.

58. For example, mNga'-ris grub-chen Tshul-khrims bzang-po lived to the age of 129. Kong-sprul, Rin-chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 1, f. 126a.

Chapter 3

A SURVEY OF THE LIFE OF THANG-STONG RGYAL-PO

Youth and Early Studies

Thang-stong rgyal-po was born in the Iron-Ox year (1361) as prophesied by Padmasambhava, in the village 'O-ba lha-rtse in northern gTsang.[1] His mother rGya-gar lha-mo was a native of the area, but his father rDo-rje rgyal-mtshan was of the important Mi-nyag clan (rus) Lha-gdong dkar-po.[2] At the age of five, the young boy was sent to herd goats and sheep, but struck off instead to the monastery of the great Byang-gter master of the rNying-ma-pa school, Don-yod rgyal-mtshan, and heard his first teachings.[3] He exhibited many miracles and signs of eccentricity during his childhood, and first showed his rebellious nature by preferring to recite refuge instead of studying his lessons. For this he was threatened with expulsion from the monastery. Not long after this he was first called insane (smyon-pa) by the villagers and his own father when he forcibly subdued a nāga spirit that had caused plague in his village.[4] His entire youth was filled with such unusual episodes coupled with visions and meditation retreats.

As a young man Thang-stong sought ordination with the

permission of the king of Byang, Gus-gum Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan. He then proceeded to the monastery of Ngam-ring, and began his studies of the Five Dharmas of Maitreya, and the teachings of the Vinaya and Abhidharma.[5] He also studied at the great monastery of Sa-skya, where he had a deep spiritual experience which led him to behave rather unconventionally. The other monks assumed him to be ignorant, and he received the nickname "Crazy Diligent One" (sMyon-pa brtson-grus).[6] On his return from Sa-skya he aided bDag-chen bSod-nams bkra-shis (1352-1408) in building the rGyang 'Bum-mo-che stūpa near Lha-rtse. This was the first building project Thang-stong was involved in.[7]

Thang-stong received full ordination as a bhikṣu from bKa'-lnga-pa dPal-'byor shes-rab, who also bestowed upon him many Mahāmudrā teachings from the systems of both Nāropa and Niguma. This lama recognized him as an emanation of the Indian Mahāsiddha Kukuripa and gave him the name brTson-grus bzang-po.[8] During this period he also studied with bSod-nams mchog-pa of Lha-gdong from whom he received the rNying-ma-pa rDzogs-chen teachings, the transmission of gCod, and the gter-ma tradition of Rig-'dzin rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can (1337-1408). His most important rNying-ma-pa master, however, was his first lama, Don-yod rgyal-mtshan, whom he met once more at Ri-bo bkra'-bzang. This lama passed to Thang-stong the bKa'-ma tradition of the

rNying-ma-pa, and also the gter-ma teachings of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can from whom he had personally received them.[9] While receiving these teachings Thang-stong had a vision of Padmasambhava who urged him to use whatever unconventional means necessary to aid other living beings. Thang-stong then spent three years in seclusion perfecting the teachings he had received.[10]

At the conclusion of his retreat at Ri-bo bkra'-bzang, Thang-stong went to meet the Paṇḍita Mahābodhi at 'Phags-pa shing-kun (Swayambunāth) in the Kathmandu valley of Nepal. From Mahābodhi he received the transmission of the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra cycle,[11] and at his urging traveled to the Indian border to meet the lama Dharmaratna, who had attained the power of longevity. He studied with this teacher for five years, and also met many others in both India and Nepal. Near the end of his trip he had a visionary experience of traveling to the magic land of rGya-gar zang-gling, and there worshiped the marvelous bKra-shis sgo-mangs stupa which was later taken as the model for the great stupa he built at Ri-bo-che. The Mahāsiddha Shawa-ripa urged him in this vision to build a stupa on a scorpion shaped mountain in Tibet.

Return to Tibet: Studies and Wanderings as a Mad Visionary

When Thang-stong returned home to Rin-chen-sdings, no one believed he had been in India and Nepal for 18 years. The people were openly scornful, and thought him just a crazy beggar who had come home lying after wandering around the land. He left home again and went to receive the Six Dharmas of Niguma from the lama Byang-sems sbyin-pa bzang-po. By this time he was known as the "Mad Bhikṣu brTson-grus," but the lama recognized him as the perfect recipient for the teachings and bestowed upon him the entire corpus of the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud school. Thang-stong went into retreat at a secluded hermitage to practice these teachings with the result that the wisdom-ḍākinī Niguma appeared to him in a splendid vision and gave him initiations and teachings. He later wrote commentaries upon these with her permission.[12]

After several years, his mother who was the only one with faith in him, died, and all his relatives held him in contempt and considered him crazy and useless. He went into seclusion for seven years and had a vision of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas of India who urged him towards virtuous projects such as building iron bridges. As a result, he set out for Lhasa to learn from the great teachers of the land. During this trip, he studied with a number

of lamas, but the most significant was the great Sa-skya-pa master Re-mda'-ba, gZhon-nu blo-gros (1349-1412). He bestowed upon Thang-stong initiation into the three cycles of gShin-rje-gshed, and made several prophecies concerning Thang-stong's future accomplishments.[13] After this, Thang-stong wandered through the mountains practicing meditation, and in a vision of five ḍākinīs was given the names Thang-stong rgyal-po, Lung-stong smyon-pa, and three others. From this time forth he was famed as the Mahāsiddha Thang-stong rgyal-po.[14]

Thang-stong extracted his first gter-ma from the Lha-khang dmar-po in Gram-pa-rgyang and soon after joined with a group of pilgrims and traveled to Lhasa.[15] The journey was a colorful one, full of eccentric behavior and visionary experiences. From Lhasa he returned home to Rin-chen-sdings, and reaping the results of a good crop, joined traders going south. On the return trip through the upper valley of gCung he had a vision of the deity Tārā who urged him to action and directed his attention to a nearby scorpion-shaped mountain. He realized the peak to be the prophesied site of his great stūpa and named the mountain dPal Ri-bo-che. Back home, he paid off the last of his parents' debts, gave up trading, and went into seclusion at Thar-pa-gling for six years to meditate upon the teachings he had received. During this retreat he received in seperate visions, the Lam-'bras transmission from the

Mahāsiddha Virūpa and a guruyoga practice from rDo-rje 'chang.[16] At the end of his seclusion he went to sKyid-grong to pay homage to the Jo-bo,[17] and then continued into the Himalayan regions of Mon where he received prophecies and urgings from various deities to continue on to U-rgyan and meet Padmasambhava.

In U-rgyan he heard the rDzogs-chen teachings from rDo-rje sems-dpa' (Vajrasattva), and received from Padmasambhava the long life practices which were to become so famous. Padmasambhava also urged him to repair a stūpa which he had previously built on the Tibet-Mongolia border. He was to repair it on the 10th day of the 1st month of the Earth-Dragon year (1448) in order to prevent Mongol invasion. Before he returned to Tibet, the ḍākinīs revealed to him that iron for his bridges could be found in Tsa-gong, the holy place of rDo-rje phag-mo (Vajravārāhī). On their advice he decided to go to Kong-po and build bridges, but first returned home to gather gold for making offerings in Lhasa.

In Lhasa he stayed for a year at Kam-ni sgo-bzhi without moving his body, but the people were too shy to ask him for teachings in broad daylight and only came in secret after dark. He went on to Tshal-gung-thang and made offerings and prayers, resulting in a vision of Zhang gYu-brag-pa (1123-1193), the founder of the Tshal-pa bka'-

brgyud tradition.[18] Coming back to Lhasa he went by way of the ferry crossing on the sKyi-chu, but when he tried to board the ferry, the boatman beat him with his oar and cast him into the river. He realized that the poor and ordinary people were constantly abused there, and resolved to build his first bridge at that spot on the sKyi-chu.[19] He arrived back in Lhasa, dug a hole in the marketplace, and sat in it with only his head showing. This time people flocked to him, showered him with offerings, and requested teachings. These and other favorable omens convinced him that the time to act had arrived, and he prepared to journey to Kong-po.

Tsa-ri in Kong-po, and the Savage Land of kLo

Traveling south, Thang-stong recovered gter-ma from the Cave of the Moon (Zla-ba-phug) near Yer-pa, and from mChims-phu near bSam-yas where he meditated for eight months.[20] He crossed the gTsang-po river and arrived at sNe-gdong where he was received by the Phag-mo-'gru ruler Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374-1432), who requested initiation. Thang-stong considered him unworthy, and only after the ruler made several vows, such as not to make war or seize land, did he finally bestow the blessings of Avalokiteśvara.

Continuing east, Thang-stong came to the camp of the

6th Karmapa, mThong-ba don-ldan (1416-1453) not far from sGam-po, and because of his unusual behavior, was beaten and left for dead by the Karmapa's monks. He was found by mThong-ba don-ldan himself, who recognized that he was not an ordinary man, and requested initiation from him.

Soon thereafter Thang-stong had a vision of the deity Kong-btsun de-mo who invited him further south to Kong-po. Accordingly, he set out on pilgrimage to Tsa-ri,[21] and at gYu-mtsho was inspired by a vision of rDo-rje phag-mo to go and convert the barbarian land of kLo.[22] He left his party behind at Tsa-ri and traveled alone to the spot known as Ba-ru gnam-tshal, whre he bound the naga king Waruṇa together with other spirits of the region, to vows of co-operation.[23] At sTeng-tsar, also in Kong-po, many people were working iron, and through a series of events Thang-stong established the place as a source of iron for his future bridge building. He toured the Kong-po area, made contact with the people, and with the support and guidance of the spirits, retrieved the guide books to Kong-po and kLo, as well as relevant prophecies hidden by Padmasambhava in the Secret Cave of the Ḍākinīs (mKha'-'gro'i gsang-phug).

At sMan-mo-sgang he began construction of a monastery, and nearby developed an iron mine where he put blacksmiths to work and carried the iron from the mine himself. With

this iron and other offerings they forged iron chains, but because of the superstitious fear of the local people were not able to transport them to Central Tibet. Deciding that the time for effective work in Kong-po had not yet come, he left the iron chains hanging from a tall tree and began the journey to kLo.

With the guidance of a local spirit from kLo, Thang-stong and his followers set off by way of sTag-tshang in Bhutan,[24] and after hacking their way through a dense uncharted jungle for three months, finally arrived at a city in kLo. The barbarous people attempted to kill him, but were eventually subdued and converted to Buddhism.

When Thang-stong returned to Kong-po, the people were amazed that the savages of kLo had not murdered him. Overcoming the obstacles to his iron work with magical feats, he soon succeeded in having a great quantity of iron sent off to Central Tibet. On his return trip Thang-stong felt that a stūpa in rTse-la-sgang was causing harm to Tibet, and sat on top of it to suppress the power. One of Karmapa mThong-ba don-ldan's attendants saw him and once again the monks attempted to kill him, and were severely reprimanded by the Karmapa.

The First Iron Bridge, and Travels through Bhutan and West Tibet

Returning to the Lhasa area in the Iron-Dog year (1430) when he was 69 years old, Thang-stong prepared to build an iron bridge over the sKyi-chu. With the help of the ruler and people of sNe, two bridge foundations were completed in 21 days, one on the north side with piled up rock and one on the south bank with two iron spikes driven into a boulder. Rope was attached to the chains, but 300 citizens and monks were unable to pull them tight. It is said that during the night Thang-stong, aided by the eight classes of gods and demons pulled the chains taut in an instant. He chastized the people of sKyi-shod for not providing anything for the bridge, while he had brought all the iron from Kong-po. Through the exorcistic subduing and converting of their patron deity, he forced them to supply 100 manloads of rope for suspending the walking platforms. From this time on, he was famed as lCags-zam-pa, the "Iron Bridge Man."[25]

Soon thereafter, Thang-stong foretold that he would build many bridges and ferries on the gTsang-po river and a temple on lCags-po-ri. The latter project and many others were accomplished later that year by his patroness, the Lhasa woman sKal-ldan rin-chen bzang-mo. While still in the Lhasa area during the Iron-Pig year (1431), he gained

the respect of 'Jam-dbyang bkra-shis (1379-1449), the founder and first abbot of the great 'Bras-spungs monastery.[26]

In the Water-Ox year (1433), Thang-stong left detailed instructions for construction of a great stūpa and two monasteries on dPal Chu-bo-ri, and then intending to build many bridges along the western gTsang-po river and it's tributaries, started south to make a tour of Bhutan and Mon. He traveled to Pa-gro in Bhutan via Phag-ri and retrieved a gter-ma from the holy site of sTag-tshang. Continuing southeast into India, at the city Ti-ri-kha on the mountain of Shi,[27] he worshipped the rNam-dag stupa where Shākyamuni Buddha gave up the worldly life. There he taught dharma to the people in their own language and visited the famous cemetery of gTum-drag.

Returning to Tibet, Thang-stong passed through western Bhutan, built eight iron bridges, and completed many other projects such as a stūpa in the Pa-gro valley, and the rTa-mchog nor-bu-sgang monastery. When he departed from the Bhutanese area, a huge amount of iron and 700 loads of Bhutanese goods such as paper and ink were transported for him to Phag-ri on the Tibetan border, where he founded the bSam-'grub lha-khang. Si-tu Rab-brtan kun-bzang-'phags (1389-1442) was impressed by the loads of iron and compared the wealth Thang-stong had brought from the south to

that previously brought from Mongolia by the Sa-skya hierarch 'Gro-mgon 'Phags-pa (1235-1280). With the Si-tu's assistance, 200 manloads of iron links were sent off to Chu-bo-ri while Thang-stong went west with the remainder to La-stod Byang.[28]

When Thang-stong was 73 years old he went into seclusion at Thar-pa-gling after instructing his disciples how to continue his projects, and then traveled west in 1435 and built an iron bridge over the gTsang-po river at Gangs-la klong-kha. In the sKyid-grong area he built a Lhung-bzed kha-sbub stūpa to stop fighting and gathered more offerings of iron. Further north at mNga'-ris rdzong-kha he gave teachings at the request of the king (Khri Lha-dbang rgyal-mtshan, 1404-1464) and survived an assassination attempt by another member of the royal family, the jealous lama Chos-dpal bzang-po (1371-1439).[29]

He continued west on pilgrimage to Ti-se (Kailāsh) and Ma-pham lake, thru Gu-ge and Pu-rang, and finally to the cemetery of Rameshwara in Kha-che (Kashmir), where he received tantric teachings in a vision of rDo-rje phag-mo (Vajravārāhī).[30] On his return journey, which was replete with miraculous episodes and outrageous actions, he visited the 'Bri-gung lama Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan at La-phyi, and finally arrived back at dPal Ri-bo-che at age 75 in the year 1436 just as the final stages of the bridge build-

ing were beginning.[31] When being hoisted into position the chains fell into the turbulent, icy waters of the gTsang-po, but Thang-stong himself retrieved them, and the bridge in front of Ri-bo-che was completed.

Building Activities in Dbus-gTsang

After a brief reunion with his old teacher dPal-'byor shes-rab, Thang-stong left some monks to work on an iron bridge at bKra-shis-rtse in 'Jad, and went to the monastery of Ngor where he met Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382-1456), the founder of the Ngor subsect of the Sa-skya school.[32] He performed the exorcism of a harmful spirit at the request of Ngor-chen, and received from him many teachings including the important Hevajra initiation. Then he returned to bKra-shis-rtse to complete the bridge and perform the consecration.

Foreseeing that in the Fire-Dragon year (1437) there would be a great famine in Central Tibet, Thang-stong began a tour of the land to raise gold in order to distribute food. He gathered great offerings from rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395-1475) in Ngam-ring, Ta'i Si-tu bSod-nams-'phags in Shel-dkar rgyal-rtse, and Nang-so Nor-bzang-pa (d. 1466) in Rin-spungs. When he returned to Lhasa the famine was at its' peak, and the price of barley had soared. He used his gathered offerings to buy barley from

sealed government storehouses, and exchanging it in the marketplace for gold, put the barley into circulation among the starving people. The gold was used to make a large alms bowl which he offered to the Jo-bo, effectively bringing the famine to an end.

After a brief tour of the southern border regions, Thang-stong returned to dPal Chu-bo-ri in Central Tibet, only to find that all but 86 of the 200 loads of iron chain forged in Bhutan and sent to Chu-bo-ri had been stolen. This presented a great problem, but he sent out monks to search for iron and vowing not to emerge until the bridge was finished, went into seclusion at Chu-bo-ri on new year's day of the Earth-Horse year (1438). The monks labored at the construction and came to him frequently for advice. Finally after six years the bridge was completed in the Wood-Mouse year (1444).[33] He soon constructed another bridge in sTod-lungs and went to Nalendra to meet Rong-ston Shes-bya kun-rig (1367-1449).[34] When he arrived some time later in Lhasa, he gathered all his offerings, and summoning many artisans, initiated a vast project of statue making from precious substances.

Journeys to Tsa-ri, mDo-khams, and China

After finishing his work in Lhasa, Thang-stong decided to go east to mDo-khams, but first traveled on pilgim-

age to the holy land of Tsa-ri. He recovered two gter-ma from the nearby Cave of Great Light (Zer-chen phug), and convinced the people that a stūpa should be built at rBo-dong bdun-pa to avert future disasters. Then he traveled through Kong-po collecting great offerings of iron from the many mines throughout the area. He carried all the iron to his monastery of Tsa-gong gnas-gsar, and along with a workforce of people from 'Phrag, founded an iron factory to forge chain links. He then built a Khang-bu brtsegs-pa stūpa to the east to counteract the practice of black magic.

Thang-stong walked throughout the regions of mDo-khams building iron bridges over many of the rivers, and shrines in Zal-mo-sgang and Li-thang. When he was 85 years old (1446), he founded the Lhun-grub-steng palace monastery in sDe-dge under the patronage of the king Bo-thar bKra-shis seng-ge.[35] From the sDe-dge area he continued through Mi-nyag, and arrived in Dar-rtse-mdo, where the people requested his help in preventing earthquakes. He advised them how and where to construct a great bodhi-stūpa, and leaving his followers and baggage there, went alone into China and spent eight months meditating and giving teachings on the famous Ri-bo rtse-lnga (Wu-ta'i-shan). He then traveled to the Chinese palace where he had a confrontation with the emperor, and after giving teachings at the

1442) and received great offerings from him, but was not able to cement a lama-patron relationship.[38]

After leaving rGyal-rtse, Thang-stong visited Sa-skya bDag-chen bLo-gros dbang-phyug (1402-1481) at Chu-mig,[39] and then gave teachings to many people of 'Jad Bo-dong. There at a strategic location (sa'i me-btsa') he built a stūpa to hold two redactions of the bKa'-'gyur for which he supplied the ink and paper and the people supplied the scribes and their food and wages. He finished a bridge at Yongs-ru in upper gTsang, in the Fire-Hare year (1447), and left a disciple in charge of building a stūpa to suppress warfare in the area.

To the north at Ngam-ring he met with the king of Byang, rNam-rgyal grags-bzang (1395-1475) and succeeded in gaining his cooperation and patronage for various projects.[40] Because of repeated attacks by Mongol armies in Mar-yul and Gu-ge, there was great fear of Mongol invasion during this period. On the tenth day of the first summer month of the Earth-Dragon year (1448) Thang-stong had a stūpa in the far north repaired according to a prophecy by Padmasambhava, and this was credited with preventing invasion. While in Ngam-ring, he succeeded in acquiring a document pledging the help of artisans and volunteers from the Byang myriarchy until his projects of virtue on Ri-bo-che were completed. This promised, he went forward with

his plans, after also enlisting the aid of the ruler of Lho, Ta'i Si-tu Lha-btsan-skyabs.[41]

Construction Activities and Final Years at Ri-bo-che

In the Earth-Snake year (1449), Thang-stong returned to Ri-bo-che and laid the foundation for the great bKra-shis sgo-mangs stūpa. Laborers from the Byang myriarchy assisted the monks in the work of gathering stones and earth, and extensive projects of painting, construction, and statuary were begun. When the plastering of the stūpa was finished, painters and sculptors were gathered from Lho, Byang, and mNga'-ris to begin the artwork. At the time of inserting the central pole of the stūpa, rJe-btsun Chos-kyi sgron-me (d. 1458?), the daughter of the Gung-thang king Khri Lha-dbang rgyal-mtshan (1404-1464) came to Ri-bo-che for the first time. She became Thang-stong's consort (gsang-yum), and later went to Kong-po where she expanded the hermitage at sMan-mo-sgang and gathered a tremendous amount of iron for a bridge at the Nya-mgo ferry crossing. Not long thereafter she died, and because she was believed to have been a rDo-rje phag-mo incarnation, her skull was enshrined as the holy relic of Tsa-gong, fulfilling Thang-stong's earlier prophecy.[42]

In the Fire-Mouse year (1456) Thang-stong was 95 years old, and the final stages of the Ri-bo-che stūpa

were completed. bsTan-'dzin Nyi-ma bzang-po (b. 1436) was invested as Thang-stong's successor (rgyal-tshab) at the consecration of the stūpa, and at his investiture the emperor of China sent a large offering of silk, gold, and jewels.[43] Soon after, in the Tiger year (1458), bKa'-bcu-pa bLo-gros rgyal-mtshan recorded the teachings Thang-stong had previously received in visions of Niguma, which were to become very important for future members of his lineage.[44]

The great stūpa was finished, but the surrounding temples and statues still required their final touches. The beams of the temples were made from juniper and willow, with slate dug on Ri-bo-che for the roof surface, and gold was used to gild the major statues. Thang-stong spent much of his time in meditation on the peak of Ri-bo-che, but it was said that he emanated many different forms throughout Tibet to urge people to continue with projects of virtue. Especially notable was his conversion of the evil king of Kāmata (Assam) in India who sacrificed the flesh and blood of 100 pregnant women every year to the deity Maheśvara. After the final conversion of the king, Thang-stong sent his disciple dKon-mchog dpal-bzang with 13 monks, including the Bhutanese disciple bDe-ba bzang-po, to represent him in Kāmata.[45]

For at least the last 25 years of his life, Thang-

stong remained at Ri-bo-che in meditative seclusion, teaching dharma or supervising the various projects in progress there. His retreats were long and strict, sometimes going without food for three months at a time, shut in an air-tight room. He occasionally saw disciples and pilgrims or sent out answers to requests written on a piece of slate.[46] There were many accounts of a miraculous nature during this period concerning his emanated forms, power over his manifestations, and his control over others' perceptual powers.

While in retirement at Ri-bo-che, Thang-stong's disciples and Maṇipas were spread across all of Tibet, and even in India and the Himalayan regions. He dispatched disciples with edicts to be read when a plague emptied Sa-skya, and for various other purposes.[47] From the Earth-Snake year (1449) to the Wood-Dragon year (1484) an impressive amount of work was completed at Ri-bo-che. In 1484 Thang-stong emphasized that his son, the monk Nyi-ma bzang-po was to be his successor. Another son Don-grub bzang-po was to be responsible for the continuation of the hereditary lineage, and his son sKyab-pa bzang-po became abbot of the Tsa-gong monastery in Kong-po.[48] At this time many of the dignitaries of Tibet such as the Rin-spungs ruler mTsho-skyes rdo-rje (d. 1510), and the myriarch of Bya, bKra-shis dar-rgyas gathered at Ri-bo-che and presented

Thang-stong a vast array of fine offerings.[49] They all wished him to come to their respective areas, but in the Snake year (1485) he sent Nyi-ma bzang-po in his place to build and repair various iron bridges.

On the 4th day of the Cho-'phrul month of the Wood-Snake year in the eighth 60 year cycle (1485), Thang-stong rgyal-po, as he had earlier predicted to his consort Chos-kyi sgron-me, passed away in a most remarkable manner at the age of 124 years. Amidst many marvelous signs, his body turned into a mass of shining light and rose into the sky above his dwelling on the peak of Ri-bo-che. His disciple Shes-rab dpal-ldan, upon beholding this sight, began to lament and pray for him to remain. Thang-stong reappeared in the sky in a form one cubit in size, and instead of passing physically into the paradise of mKha'-spyod, agreed to leave a body-like form for people to see. He gave Shes-rab dpal-ldan instructions to place it facing north with one hand raised to stop the Mongols from invading Tibet, and told him how to continue the tradition together with bsTan-'dzin Nyi-ma bzang-po.[50]

Thang-stong gave further directions that his death should be concealed for at least 30 years for the purpose of preventing Mongol invasion, because they would not dare to attack as long as it was believed he was alive. Not until some 32 years later in the Fire-Ox year (1517), were

Thang-stong's remains (sku-gdung) placed in a silver stūpa reliquary as their final resting place.[51]

Notes

1. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 2a: /'O ba zhes bya'i shar mdun du/ brtson 'grus zhes bya'i ming can 'byung/. f. 6b: /'O ba zhes bya'i lung pa na/ pho brang lha rtse bya ba yod/. Thang-stong rgyal-po's name upon ordination was brTson-'grus bzang-po.

2. Ibid., f. 7b: /Mi nyag rig 'dzin ldong gi bu/. This clan was one of the most important and ancient of the Mi-nyag area. It figures also in the Gesar epics. See Stein, Barde au Tibet, op.cit., pp. 217 and 219.

It is interesting to note that the rulers of Byang Ngam-ring traced their lineage back to a Mi-nyag clan, perhaps the Lha-gdong dkar-po. dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po, Byang rgyal rabs, op.cit., p. 167. Evidence suggests, but is not yet conclusive, that Thang-stong's father was of the same stock as the rulers of Ngam-ring.

3. See note #21, Chapter 2.

4. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 13b-14b.

5. Rin-chen rgyal-mtshan held the Ta'i Si-tu title bestowed by the Chinese emperor, and was famed as an Avalokiteśvara emanation. dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po, op.cit., pp. 179-180. The Ngam-ring chos-sde was founded in 1225 by Grags-pa dar, Yon-btsun. The first abbot was Shakya seng-ge. It was restored in 1354 by Ta'i dben Nam-mkha' btsan-pa (b. 1316). Ye-shes dpal-'byor, Re'u mig, op.cit., pp. 59-60. The great Jo-nang master Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1308-1386) was abbot twice, and Thang-stong's guru dPal-'byor shes-rab was also abbot for a time. dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po, op.cit., pp. 177, 200-201.

6. Thang-stong's name upon becoming a novice monk was

brTson-'grus seng-ge. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 16a and 17b.

7. See notes #29 and #30 in Chapter 2, and f. 18a of 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit.

8. See note #20 in Chapter 2.

9. See note #21 in Chapter 2.

10. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 24b-26a.

11. See note #23 in Chapter 2.

12. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 31b-32b. For more information on this lineage and the Shangs-pa school in general, see E.G. Smith's "Introduction" to the Shangs pa gser 'phreng, op.cit. Thang-stong's commentaries on the Six Dharmas of Niguma are found in Kong-sprul's gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, pp. 275-332.

13. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 36b. See note # 19 in Chapter 2 for more information on Re-mda'-ba. The three cycles of gShin-rje-gshed are specialties of the Sa-skya school, and were passed down from the Indian Mahāsid-dha Virūpa.

14. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 37b-38a. This event is translated as "The Five Ḍākinīs and a Pilgrimage to Lhasa," in Part II.

15. Ibid., f. 38b. The temple at Gram-pa-rgyang is near Lha-rtse where Thang-stong aided in the construction of the rGyang 'Bum-mo-che stūpa. This temple was also the site for gter-ma discoveries by other lamas, and one of Padmasambhava's meditation caves is nearby. See Alfonsa Ferrari, mKhyen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet, (Rome, 1958), p. 66.

16. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 43b-44a. The

guruyoga practice, as formulated by later teachers, is found in mKhyen-brtse's sGrub thabs kun btus, op.cit., vol. 10, pp. 33-53.

17. See note #3 in Part II.

18. For information on Zhang g.yu-brag-pa, brTson-'grus grags-pa, a great Mahāmudrā master, see E.G. Smith's "Introduction" to the bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng, op.cit. By Thang-stong's time the Tshal-pa sect had close ties with the rNying-ma-pa school.

19. See Chapter 4 for a translation of the song sung at this event.

20. Ferrari, op.cit., pp. 42 and 104. Zla-ba-phug is a cave where Padmasambhava meditated and left gter-ma. mChims-phu is very famous also because of its' connection with Padmasambhava and the king Khri-srong lde-btsan. See Ferrari, ibid., p. 116. See Yeshe Tsogyal, The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava, (Dharma Publishing, Emeryville, Ca., 1978), Part II, for a translation of the famous events at mChims-phu involving Padmasambhava.

21. See note #37 in Chapter 4 concerning the spirit Kong-btsun de-mo. Tsa-ri in Kong-po and Ti-se (Kailāsh) in west Tibet are the major holy mountains in Tibet. Tsa-ri is believed to be the home of Cakrasaṃvara and his consort Vajravārāhī. The area was first opened up for pilgrims through the joint effort of gTsang-pa rgya-ras (1161-1211) and 'Bri-gung skyob-pa 'Jig-rten mgon-po (1143-1217). The mountain is a glacial peak, but is believed to be a crystal bKra-shis sgo-mangs stūpa inside. See the 8th rGyal-dbang 'brug-pa, Kun-gzigs chos-kyi snang-ba's Tsa ri'i gnas bshad rgyas par bshad pa'i le'u, included in Rare Tibetan Texts from Nepal, (Tibetan Bonpo

Monastic Centre, H.P., 1976), pp. 19 and 29.

22. See note #2 of Chapter 4.

23. See note #38, ibid.

24. sTag-tshang is a famous cave, now a hermitage, where Padmasambhava is said to have appeared in the terrible form of rDo-rje gro-lod when he visited Bhutan. It is a famous site of gter-ma discoveries.

25. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 78a-79a. See Chapter 4 for details about this event.

26. 'Jam-dbyangs bkra-shis was a disciple of Tsong-kha-pa (1357-1419), and born into the sMyos clan, as was the great Bhutanese gTer-ston Padma gling-pa. 'Bras-spungs was founded in 1416.

27. Roerich, Blue Annals, op.cit., p. 693. This mountain in Assam is a famous Buddhist shrine in the area. The event is not mentioned in the older biography of Thang-stong by dKon-mchog dpal-bzang, the bLa ma Thang stong rgyal po'i rnam thar gsal ba'i sgron me. For details on this text, see the Preface to the Translations in Part II.

28. For more information on Thang-stong's activities in Bhutan, and the temple in Phag-ri, see Chapter 4. Kun-bzang-'phags founded the great temple of dPal 'Khor-lo bde-chen at rGyal-rtse in 1418, with the help of Tsong-kha-pa's disciple mKhas-grub-rje. See A Biography of Si-tu Rab-brtan Kun-bzang 'phags, 'Jigs-med grags-pa phyogs-las rnam-rgyal, (Dharamsala, 1978). This ruler was one of the great religious patrons of his time. For details concerning the artwork of the stūpa he constructed, see Tucci's Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., pp. 665-668. See also Turrell V. Wylie, The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad, (Is.M.E.O., Rome, 1962), p. 139.

29. This king's name is not mentioned by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 87b, but his lama is named as Chos-dpal bzang-po. Khri Lha-dbang rgyal-mtshan was enthroned as king in 1419, and was the ruler when Thang-stong visited rDzong-kha c. 1435. His daughter Chos-kyi sgron-me later became Thang-stong's consort. Chos-dpal bzang-po became Lha-dbang rgyal-mtshan's chaplain in 1420, and was renowned as a forceful lama (mthu-stobs-can). He was a disciple of Bo-dong Paṇ-chen (1371-1456), and apparently notorious for his unscrupulous ways. See D. Snellgrove, Four Lamas of Dolpo, (Oxford, Bruno Cassirer, 1961), p. 235, where he is found putting curses on the royal family of Mustang (gLo). The information on the king and his lama is found on ff. 13a-14a of Tshe-dbang nor-bu's genealogy of the Gung-thang kings, op.cit.

30. The cemetery of Rameshwara is one of the 24 holy sites (gnas-chen, yul-chen) of the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra tradition. See the Collected Works of Bu-ston, (Śatapiṭaka Series, 1965, vol. 46), vol. 6, bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal, f. 27. See Chapter 1 for more information concerning the teachings Thang-stong received on this occasion.

31. In the short biography of the 'Bri-gung hierarch Dbang Rin-chen chos-kyi rgyal-po (1448-1504), there is mention of an earlier great 'Bri-gung lama, Chos-rje Nam-mkha' rgyal-mtshan. See the 4th hierarch bsTan-'dzin Padma'i rgyal-mtshan (b. 1770), Nges don bstan pa'i snying po mgon po 'bri gung chen po'i gdan rabs chos kyi byon tshul gser gyi phreng ba, (Kangra, H.P., 1977), pp. 223-9.

32. That Thang-stong met Ngor-chen is independently verified by dKon-mchog lhun-grub, Ngor chos 'byung, op.cit., p. 343, and in Ngor-chen's biography by Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, op.cit., p. 231.

33. See Chapter 4 for more information on Thang-stong's activities in Bhutan during this trip, and the construction of the bridge.

34. Rong-ston was a great master of the Prajñāpāramitā, and founded the monastery of Nalendra in 'Phan-yul north of Lhasa in the year 1435. This monastery became the seat of the Nalendra subsect of the Sa-skya school. The present head of this lineage is the Ven. bCo-brgyad khri-chen Rinpoche, who currently resides in Lumbini, Nepal. Rong-ston studied with one of Thang-stong's gurus, Mus-chen Nam-mkha' rnal-'byor, and received the Sa-skya Lam-'bras transmission from Theg-chen chos-rje, Kun-dga' bkra-shis rgyal-mtshan (1349-1425). dKon-mchog lhun-grub, Ngor chos 'byung, op.cit., pp. 347-348.

35. See Chapter 4 for details of this trip and the founding of Lhun-grub-steng.

36. The events on Wu-ta'i-shan and Thang-stong's encounter with the Chinese emperor Chu Ch'i-chen (1427-1464) are translated as "A Journey to Five-Peak Mountain in China" in Part II.

37. This meeting was after Thang-stong's activities in sDe-dge which are dateable to 1446, but Grags-pa 'byung-gnas supposedly died in 1444. Tucci, The New Red Annals, op.cit., p. 254.

38. This meeting was after the accepted death date of 1442 for Rab-brtan kun-bzang 'phags. I have not been able to resolve the problem of this meeting and that with Grags-pa 'byung-gnas of Phag-mo-gru. Perhaps access to the older biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po will answer the question.

39. bLo-gros dbang-phyug was of the bZhi-thog bla-

brang of the Sa-skya 'Khon family. Chu-mig-pa became a later name for this bla-brang.

40. The Byang king rNam-rgyal grags-bzang was a very great spiritual master, and the author of several texts concerning the Kālacakra-tantra which was one of his specialties. He was also a prominent physician and wrote many works of instruction in medical practice. The Byang medical lineage became famed in Tibet beginning with this exceptional ruler. See Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's Ayurveda in Tibet, op.cit., pp. 310-315 for his short biography. Information can also be found in dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po, op.cit., pp. 184-186, and Tucci's Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., p. 632. rNam-rgyal grags-bzang was a great patron for many important lamas such as Bo-dong Paṇ-chen, Go-ram bSod-nams seng-ge, Byang-chub rtse-mo, and Paṇ-chen Vanaratna.

41. Ta'i Si-tu Lha-btsan-skyabs was the brother-in-law of the afore-mentioned Byang king rNam-rgyal grags-bzang, having married his sister bTsan-lcam rgyal-mo. He was the son of rNam-rgyal grags-bzang's great aunt, Nam-mkha' 'bum and the Lho ruler Ta'i Si-tu Chos-kyi rin-chen (d. 1403). dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po, op.cit., p. 184.

42. See Chapter 4 for details on the construction at Ri-bo-che, and Chapter 1 for information about Chos-kyi sgron-me.

43. See note #79, Part II for information on this emperor and Thang-stong's contact with him.

44. These are the treatises on the Six Dharmas of Niguma preserved in the gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul.

45. Kāmata or Kāmarūpa, stands for the north-eastern

part of Bengal and the western district of Assam. See "Kāmarūpa," by Dr. Wilfried Nölle, Indo-Asian Studies, (vol. 37, Śatapiṭaka Series, 1965), pp. 125-127, concerning the bloody tradition of the Śakti cults in this area. Kāmata was apparently destroyed during the period of 1501-1505 by Husayan Shāh.

The disciple dKon-mchog dpal-bzang had earlier been designated by Thang-stong to be the keeper of the bSam-grub lha-khang in Phag-ri. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 86b, 173a, and 152b. He was from Ngam-ring, and the author of the older biography of Thang-stong. See the Preface to the Translations, in Part II.

The Bhutanese disciple bDe-ba bzang-po was the first of the hierarchs of Thang-stong's monastery rTa-mchog nor-bu-sgang in Bhutan. See note #99 in Chapter 4.

46. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 156b-157a. Several verses Thang-stong wrote while in seclusion and passed out to the people waiting are translated in Chapter 5.

47. Thang-stong's connections with the tradition of the Maṇipas deserves more study. These wandering exponents of the Avalokiteśvara practices urged the people to recite the mantra "Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ," and used icons, dance, and didactic stories to teach Buddhism in a popular setting. See Chapter 1 for more information on Thang-stong and the Maṇipa tradition.

The prayer Thang-stong wrote and sent to Sa-skya to relieve the plague conditions is quite well know today. Grub chen thang stong rgyal po'i rdo rje'i gsung sa skya nad grol mar grags pa'i smon lam, (Sakyapa Ngorpa Society, Gantok, 1964).

48. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 168b and 170a.

49. See note #35 in Chapter 2.

50. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 171b-172a. See Chapter 2 for details about Shes-rab dpal-ldan and Thang-stong's death. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul seems to state that Thang-stong returned at the request of his disciple, and remained in a small body of light for seven days. Grub chen thang stong rgyal po la gsol ba 'debs pa grub pa'i sgra dbyangs, included in the dPal ldan shangs pa bka' brgyud kyi ngo mtshar rin chen brgyud pa'i rnam thar la gsol ba 'debs pa u dum ba ra'i phreng ba, Kong-sprul, gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, pp. 726-729.

51. See Chapter 2 for more information.

Chapter 4

LCAGS-ZAM-PA

BUILDER OF IRON BRIDGES

Thang-stong rgyal-po built his first iron bridge over the sKyi-chu near Lhasa in 1430, and from that time was famed throughout Tibet and all surrounding border regions as lCags-zam-pa, the "Iron Bridge Man."[1] His exploits in Bhutan and Kong-po in south-east Tibet, from where the iron for most of his bridges was transported, and in the uncivilized regions of kLo gained him the reputation of being a great subduer of barbarian people and malignant spiritual forces.[2] In addition to iron bridges, he built numerous stūpas in order to subdue local spirits, prevent natural disasters, protect against disease, and avert invasion by Mongol (Hor) armies. These were constructed in Tibet and the Himalayan countries along geomantic principles, and situated at strategic locations to serve as environmental focal-points (sa'i me-btsa'). Various of his monasteries and temples were placed according to the same theory, and several such as Lhun-grub-steng in sDe-dge were of lasting importance in Tibetan cultural and religious history.

Up until the time of Thang-stong rgyal-po, iron

bridges were unknown in Tibet although they had existed for centuries elsewhere.[3] Thang-stong often encountered great opposition from people in the areas to which he traveled because of the unprecedented nature of his projects. The first expedition he made in search of iron was motivated by an event that took place at a ferry-crossing on the sKyi-chu near Lhasa. Thang-stong wished to cross the river, but because of his appearance was bludgeoned over the head with an oar by the ferryman, and tossed into the water. This impressed upon him the plight of poor and disadvantaged people, and he vowed to build a bridge on the spot so that all without discrimination might easily cross the water.[4] He had been informed by the ḍākinīs of U-rgyan that he could find iron at Tsa-gong in Kong-po with which to construct iron bridges,[5] and so during the 1420's he journeyed through the aboriginal areas in the extreme south-east of Tibet. There he discovered iron being worked at such places as sTeng-tsar and Bha-kha.[6] With great difficulty he managed to gather a quantity of iron and at Tsa-gong in Kong-po laid the foundations for a monastery where with local blacksmiths he forged four long iron chains.[7] With the eventual co-operation of the Kong-po people these chains were transported to Central Tibet and used for the sKyi-chu bridge built in 1430 when he was 69 years old.[8]

In 1433-1434 Thang-stong again traveled south with the specific intention of gathering iron to build bridges along the western gTsang-po river.[9] During the journey through Bhutan he was given a great deal of iron, as well as other offerings, which he exchanged for more iron. At 'O-chu sga-brag in the Pa-gro valley blacksmiths forged 7,000 links of iron for him, and by the time he returned to Tibet he had accumulated 1,400 manloads of iron chain, each composed of 15 links.[10] The people of Pa-gro supported him because an iron bridge at Chu-bo-ri on the gTsang-po river would enable them to visit the shrines in the holy city of Lhasa.[11] During his stay in Bhutan he built eight bridges of iron,[12] some of which are still standing. When he returned to Tibet the Pa-gro people carried the 1,400 loads of iron as far as Phag-ri, and from there with the aid of the Chos-rgyal of rGyal-rtse, Kun-bzang-'phags (1389-1442), 200 loads were sent to Chu-bo-ri.[13] Thang-stong himself transported 1,100 loads into La-stod Byang, and from there continued west as far as Kashmir (Kha-che) building bridges. He collected more iron in the vicinity of sKyid-grong,[14] and became known in the bLa-dwags area as "lCags-zam-pa," perhaps from the time of this journey.[15] Returning towards Central Tibet, he arrived at his monastery dPal Ri-bo-che in La-stod Byang, and there completed the construction of an

iron bridge in front of the monastery in 1436.[16]

During Thang-stong's second visit to Bhutan in about 1437, the bridge building work in progress at Chu-bo-ri suffered a setback when all but 86 of the 200 loads of iron sent there from Pa-gro were stolen by the people of Gong-dkar, a valley to the south of Chu-bo-ri, and used to make weapons and tools.[17] Thang-stong's monks were sent to the countryside to gather more iron and building materials, and after some delay the bridge was finally completed in 1444.[18] The lord of Gong-dkar eventually offered a great quantity of goods in penance for the previous theft of the iron by his people.[19] This offering was used to maintain the upkeep of the bridge, but in later times there was apparently the need to charge a toll for the support of the bridge and monastery.[20]

The bridge at Chu-bo-ri was made of two double-chain cables composed of one-inch thick iron links one foot long each. It was about 150 yards in length, with the foundations on both banks built in the shape of stūpas. The chains were fastened into the foundations and the rocks below them. Yak-hair ropes were suspended from the chains at about one-yard intervals, and boards lashed end to end in their loops.[21] This was Thang-stong rgyal-po's most famous bridge, and the monastery at the foot of Chu-bo-ri came to be known as lCags-zam-dgon, the "Iron Bridge Monastery."

Following the completion of the Chu-bo-ri bridge in 1444 Thang-stong began a tour of mDo-khams and Mi-nyag via the Kong-po area. After gathering a vast quantity of offerings in the form of iron from all sections of Kong-po, he proceeded to Tsa-gong where one of his monasteries was located. There he established an iron factory composed of eight smitheries in which he worked, praying to Avalokiteśvara as he forged iron links with the blacksmiths.[22] When he returned to Tsa-gong several years later following his activities in mDo-khams, the monks of the monastery had prepared 300 manloads of 15 iron links each for him to take back to Central Tibet.[23] While touring mDo-khams during the years 1445-46 he had built iron bridges over such rivers as the rDza-chu, 'Bri-chu, and the Nyag-chu,[24] but the Kong-po area remained his primary source of iron. His tantric consort rJe-btsun Chos-kyi sgron-me gathered a great deal of iron from that area in the late 1450's to be used for the bridge eventually constructed at the ferry crossing of Nya-mgo near gDan-sa-thil.[25]

The use of the bridge and boat as symbols for liberation is quite old in Buddhist literature. The symbol of the bridge in particular is perhaps an elaboration upon the 'high road' image found in the Abhisamayālaṅkāra.[26] It is said that the bridge and boat are two forms into which the enlightened tathāgata can transform himself in order to

aid living beings.[27] The construction of bridges and ferries by Thang-stong rgyal-po was motivated by his concern for the welfare of others, and is an expression of his training in the conduct of a bodhisattva. Thang-stong's perfection of bodhicitta, the compelling altruistic motivation to help others, is illustrated during several episodes during his youth, but is first linked with the building of iron bridges during his studies in India. During a period of contemplative isolation Thang-stong had a vision in which he lowered long jeweled ladders into four gaping pits of unfathomable depth, and succeeded in rescuing the many living beings therein. Thang-stong's guru at that time, the Indian saint Dharmaratna, explained that the four pits were the lower forms of birth, and Thang-stong's extending of the ladders to higher forms of existence indicated that he would in the future construct unprecedented, precious iron bridges over difficult to traverse rivers.[28] A further interpretation is provided in yet another vision in which he saw a large crowd of people crossing an expanse of water on iron bridges and ferries. He took this to symbolize that he would be able to save all living beings from the four great rivers of birth, old age, sickness, and death. Moreover, he would liberate them from the sufferings of the ocean of saṃsāra by way of the ferries and bridges of skillful means and

wisdom.[29] This he further emphasized by referring to the iron bridges as "pathways to enlightenment" (byang-chub kyi rgyu-lam lcags-zam).[30] Work on these virtuous projects served to purify the sins (sdig-pa 'dag-pa) of the workers, and thus further contributed to their eventual attainment of liberation.[31]

Before beginning his initial search for iron in Kong-po, Thang-stong spoke some verses illustrating that these "pathways" aimed to remind the traveler of the nature of the "higher journey," and the method for reaching a shore beside which the "four rivers" of suffering no longer flowed.

> In reality there is no birth, yet the
> doors for birth into the evil existences of
> the six kinds exceed the imagination.
> Henceforth may all beings in every
> birth have the good fortune to realize
> unborn reality!
>
> In reality there is no growing old,
> yet the sufferings of aging exceed the
> imagination.
> Henceforth may all beings in every
> birth have the good fortune to realize
> ageless reality!
>
> In reality there is no illness,
> yet the sufferings brought on by the
> four elements in turmoil exceed the
> imagination.

Henceforth may all beings in every birth have the good fortune to realize reality free of illness!

In reality there is no death, yet we haven't the power to remain on the surface of this earth forever.

Henceforth may all beings in every birth have the good fortune to realize deathless reality!

May we have the good fortune to combine experience and luminosity!

May we have the good fortune to combine with luminosity like mother and child!

May we have the good fortune to be able to help ourselves!

May we have the good fortune to help others spontaneously![32]

Thang-stong is said to have constructed 58 iron bridges, 60 wooden bridges, and 118 ferries during his long career,[33] fulfilling the prophecies of Padmasambhava, his many gurus, and those of various yidams and ḍākinīs.

The construction of many of Thang-stong rgyal-po's bridges, ferries, stūpas, and monasteries were intimately connected with the conquest of, and subsequent alliance with various spiritual forces, in addition to the conversion of barbarian regions. Quite early in Thang-stong's

life, the great Sa-skya master Re-mda'-ba (1349-1412) impressed upon him the necessity of bringing under control the eight kinds of worldly deities and demons (snang-srid lha-srin sde-brgyad) before attempting to exert his influence upon the environment.[34] Thang-stong followed his guru's advice, and with compassion practiced gCod where various spirits lived. During this process he performed the transubstantiation of his flesh and blood body into blessed nectar and offered it to the Triple Jewel. When the spirits partook of this offering, they were delighted. Satisfied with the sacrifice, in gratitude they offered him their life-forces and support for his projects of virtue.[35] On other occasions Thang-stong used more threatening methods, as shown by this excerpt from an edict warning a local spirit (gzhi-bdag) of the consequences in store if he did not cooperate with the building projects.

> "When clouds of emanated wrathful hosts gather in the sky of wisdom,
> Enunciating the thunder of terrible mantras and causing a rain of vajra lightning,
> Won't you be afraid?"[36]

When Thang-stong went to Kong-po searching for iron, he received the invitation of the guardians of the soil (sa-bdag), and the protective deity Kong-btsun De-mo.[37]

This was an essential prelude to his removal of iron from the domain of the local spirits, without whose permission the violation of soil and the removal of its wealth from the area would have been a dangerous act. In order to build bridges and ferries on the water, it was necessary for him to obtain the cooperation of the nāga (klu), or water spirits. At Ba-ru rnam-tshal in Kong-po he confronted the nāga king Wa-ru-ṇa, and gaining his allegiance, built a stūpa and temple there.[38]

Upon his return to Central Tibet, Thang-stong built the bridge over the sKyi-chu, but only after subjugating the evil spirit (gnyan) mKhar-nag.[39] This demon lived in an oblong-shaped brown stone, and his exorcism and subsequent support of Thang-stong's building projects apparently formed, together with several other incidents involving spirit-inhabited stones, the basis for a strange tradition of spirit exorcism practiced to this day in the Himalayan regions. This stone-breaking ritual, called "Pho-bar rdo-gcog," is not mentioned by name in the biography, nor are the incidents considered to be the origin of it by present day performers. There are however, unmistakable connections between the theme of events in the biography and the performance of the stone-breaking ceremony as observed by Roerich and others in recent years.[40]

The ceremony as performed by the traveling maṇi-pas is for the subduing of demons, but the events in the biography are of a somewhat different nature. The demon mKhar-nag was indeed subdued, not through the breaking of his stone dwelling, but by placing it in a hole covered with a vajra, and beating it 13 times morning, noon, and night until a vow of cooperation was obtained.[41] The breaking of spirit-inhabited stones was performed, however, by Thang-stong on two other occasions. In Mi-nyag he split open a large boulder through his powers of meditation, and the creatures trapped therein were dissolved and delivered to higher realms when he urinated on them.[42] He released similar creatures from a large stone in Bhutan, and delivered them to the paradise of bDe-ba-chen through the force of his samādhi.[43] This latter incident was performed directly prior to the building of an iron bridge at Go-bo-ga. The offering of milk and other substances to a nāga spirit dwelling in a large stone on a river bank in Bhutan was witnessed by M. Aris in 1970, although he did not find the stone-breaking ceremony in use there.[44] One could speculate that the "Pho-bar rdo-gcog" rite was part of the repertoire of the wandering maṇipas dispatched by Thang-stong during his last years, but in any case his reputation of spirit control is attested to by the present-day ceremony of exorcism.

The iron bridges Thang-stong rgyal-po constructed transformed the environment, but they did not provide lasting spiritual power. For this purpose he erected a large number of stūpas, symbolic representations of enlightened awareness, in specific strategic locations throughout the Tibetan cultural area. These served as focal points of power (sa'i me-btsa') in the environment, and depending upon their location and type, aided in the control of spiritual intrusion, disease, warfare, and various other destructive forces. Monasteries and temples were also constructed along the same principles. The theory behind these endeavors was based upon the micro-macrocosm theme present in very early Tibetan material. Tibetan medical practice maintains that the human body contains a number of vital focal-points (me-btsa') around which is structured the subtle body of the individual.[45] Similarly, the indigenous Tibetan traditions say that the land of Tibet is actually made up of the prone body of a gigantic demoness (srin-mo gan-rkyal) and that the points on the earth which correspond to the vital focal-points in her body must be controlled in order to bring harmony to the environment in the same way that medicine is applied to the specific point of ailment in the body of a human patient. In the Ma ni bka' 'bum there is an account of the king Srong-btsan sgam-po (617?-650) constructing 108 temples

in Tibet and border lands which were situated on the focal-points of the demoness' body in order to prevent natural catastrophe and foreign invasion.[46]

Thang-stong rgyal-po was first involved in the construction of a stūpa when he assisted the Sa-skya bDag-chen, bSod-nams bkra-shis (1352-1407) in building the rGyang 'bum-mo-che stūpa near Lha-rtse in the late 14th century.[47] This stūpa was constructed near one of the temples built by Srong-btsan sgam-po for the purpose of protecting Tibet from external threats.[48] However, the first stūpa that Thang-stong planned on his own and which served as an environmental focal-point was at Ba-ru rnam-tshal in Kong-po.[49] Several years later while in the Pa-gro area of Bhutan, he built the bZlums-rtse stūpa-temple to subdue a malignant spirit of the soil (sa-bdag), and stated that its' power would wipe out the disease of leprosy in the area.[50] Among the other stūpas he constructed which were situated on focal-points were a bodhi-stūpa at Dar-rtse-mdo in Mi-nyag to prevent earthquakes, and another at 'Jad-bo-dong in gTsang to stop fighting among the people.[51] He built a total of 111 stūpas at such locations as dPal Chu-bo-ri, one of the four great mountains of Central Tibet,[52] but his most magnificent project was at dPal Ri-bo-che in La-stod Byang, his own monastic residence. There from 1449 until 1456 his monks and workers of the Byang myriarchy

labored to construct a gigantic 240-foot stūpa of the bKra-shis sgo-mang type, surrounded by 12 temples containing a magnificent collection of large images.[53] Thang-stong's ability to locate such focal-points as these, and place monasteries or stūpas accordingly was prophesied by Padmasambhava,[54] one of whose stūpas Thang-stong repaired in 1448 to protect Tibet against Mongol invasion.[55]

The construction of stūpas was Thang-stong's primary method for taming the hostile forces of a given area, but on several occasions the establishment of a monastery or temple was based upon the same theory. Thang-stong was deeply interested in understanding the physical environment as an expression of inherent psychic and spiritual forces. As a young man he had studied the Ma ṇi bka' 'bum, one of the basic sources describing this relationship, and there are events in his life which seem to be related to the theories found there.[56] In the bKa' 'bum, the Chinese wife of Srong-btsan sgam-po, through her visionary powers and skill in Chinese astrology, is said to have advised the king that the Lhasa area was the heart of a prone demoness who formed the land of Tibet, and that the subterranean 'O-thang lake was her heart blood. To the west the two mountains of dMar-po-ri and lCags-mkhar formed her heart-bone. In order to control the environment it was

necessary to suppress these areas, and accordingly the Jo-khang was built over the lake, and the king's palace at the side to suppress the heart-bone. Around it to the four directions were four scorpion-shaped mountains forming the demoness' mouth, which had also to be controlled.[57]

Frequently during his early life Thang-stong rgyal-po received prophecies from his gurus and the deities that he should in the future build a bKra-shis sgo-mangs stūpa on the tip of a scorpion-shaped mountain in Tibet. This was essential to prevent foreign invasion and would control the focal-point necessary to subdue the primary elemental forces (byung-bzhi'i kha-gnon).[58] Returning from a trading trip, Thang-stong saw on the northern shore of the gTsang-po river in the valley of gCung, a scorpion-shaped mountain, and realizing it was the prophesied site for his monastery and stūpa, named it dPal Ri-bo-che.[59] This monastery in western La-stod Byang became the seat for his activities in gTsang, and here he lived out the later portion of his life.

On dPal Chu-bo-ri in Central Tibet Thang-stong built two monasteries, one at the foot of the mountain and one on the peak. In addition there was an iron bridge built in front of the lower establishment, and also a stūpa containing a small statuary likeness of himself made by Thang-stong.[60] It was this monastery where his subsequent

embodiments reigned and which served as the central monastery for his tradition in Tibet. In Kong-po he founded the monastery of dPal-kyi gnas-gsar in Tsa-gong, which was the seat of his activities in the south-east, and placed his disciple Rigs-gsum mgon-po on the see as the first abbot.[61] Later Thang-stong's tantric consort (gsang-yum) rJe-btsun Chos-kyi sgron-me went there to supervise various projects and towards the end of his life, he sent his son sKyab-pa bzang-po as his heir in the Kong-po area.[62] In Bhutan he began various monastic centres, but the most important was at rTa-mchog nor-bu-sgang which became the seat of his school, the "lCags-zam-pa" in that country.[63]

Certainly the most important of the many monasteries Thang-stong began was in the sDe-dge area of mDo-khams in eastern Tibet. When he visited sDe-dge in 1446, the king Bo-thar bKra-shis seng-ge became his patron, and he the king's chaplain. It is said that Thang-stong perceived with his clairvoyant powers that there was a lake at the foot of the northern mountain in the upper valley of rNgu, which was inhabited by a powerful nāga spirit. He tamed this spirit and bound it to the vow not to harm people, and to create harmonious conditions in the area. Then, with his superpowers Thang-stong covered over the lake in a manner reminiscent of the legends in the Ma ni bka' 'bum, and where its bank had been, laid the foundation for a

monastery. Construction was begun on an initial 108 meditation cells, and at their completion he performed the rites of the great dharmapāla dPal-mgon zhal-bzhi. Because all of the conditions necessary for the prosperity of the establishment were accomplished without any effort as though spontaneously, the monastery was given the name Lhun-grub-steng.[64] This center would become the most important monastery in all of eastern Tibet, as well as the seat of the sDe-dge rulers and later of the Sa-skya school in Khams.

Thang-stong rgyal-po was also very involved in the production of iconography. His artistic interests were first expressed when his mother passed away and he built a small stūpa, wrote a copy of the abridged prajñāpāramitā with gold and precious material, and painted icons of the Eight Tathāgatas. He said that these were the first iconographic representations(rten) he made.[65] It was not, however, until about 1445 that he first engaged upon a large scale project of statue construction. At that time he was approached by three ḍākinīs as young women on the road from 'Bri-gung to Lhasa, who offered him luminous relics (ring-bsrel 'od-'bar-ba) of the Buddha, seven pieces of turquoise, and many other types of precious jewels. They asked him to make statues of the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas from the precious substances and place the relics

inside them as their hearts. Thang-stong received the ḍākinīs' promise of help in constructing the images, as statues created from such substances were unheard of at that time. He gathered many offerings of precious gems and gold, prayed to the Jo-bo in Lhasa, and received visionary instructions to construct first a large rDo-rje 'chang with an interior of finest silver covered with old turquoise. He summoned about fifty artisans the next day, but they said they could not make images from turquoise, coral, amber, conch-shell, and like substances. Thang-stong slept in the courtyard of the Jo-khang that evening and received inspiration from a ḍākinī. The next day he scolded the artisans by reminding them that they knew how to make jewelry from the same materials. He told them to make the framework for the rDo-rje 'chang from unadulterated silver, and then he himself cut the turquoise and instructed them how to correctly place and attach it to form the statue. Following this they made many unusual images such as Amoghasiddhi and Tārā from turquoise, seven Avalokiteśvaras from conch-shell, Amitāyus and Amitābha from coral, a Vajrapāṇi from silver and lapis-lazuli, and the ḍākinīs of the five Buddha families from coral, lapis, conch, amber, and turquoise.[66] In all, he is said to have been responsible for creating many hundreds of large and small images from precious materials, 5,000

large and small terra-cotta images, innumerable paintings, and 120 assembly-halls and temples.[67]

The totality of his accomplishments indicates Thang-stong rgyal-po to have been the greatest engineer in Tibetan history, and one of its' most prolific architects. For his projects he received the patronage of many lay people, and in particular that of some of the most influential political figures of his time such as the Phag-mo-gru rulers Grags-pa rgyal-mtshan (1374-1432) and Grags-pa 'byung-gnas (1414-1445).[68] His most consistent supporters, however, were the rulers of the La-stod Byang myriarchy, who had their capital at Ngam-ring. rNam-rgyal grags-pa bzang-po (1395-1475) was the most reliable of these, and it was probably he who had built for Thang-stong two bridges and a stūpa in 1434.[69] Later, in 1447 he presented Thang-stong with an edict (phyag-dam) ordering the people of Byang, Lho, and mNga-ris to provide his workers with help in transporting materials for construction projects.[70] The next year the Byang king granted a tax exemption for Thang-stong's parents' lands, and pledged to provide laborers from the Byang myriarchy until the projects on Ri-bo-che were finished.[71] Another Byang ruler, Chos-rgyal Nam-mkha' rdo-rje, was one of the main disciples of Thang-stong rgyal-po. He instituted the practice of requiring every person who visited Ri-bo-che, or traveled on the

road at the foot of the mountain, to assist the projects by carrying seven loads of stone. In addition, he caused the people of the gCung valley, where Ri-bo-che was located, to provide wood and rope for the bridge every year.[72] Two successive rulers of the myriarchy of La-stod Lho, Ta'i Si-tu bSod-nams-'phags, and Ta'i Si-tu Lha-btsan skyabs in 1436 and 1448 respectively, aided Thang-stong with great gifts of silver, and provided workers for his projects.[73] Even the Emporer of China, dPal-gyi byung-gnas (Chu Chi'chen, reign: 1436-49, 1457-64) sent lavish offerings to Ri-bo-che in 1457,[74] and in about 1458 the kings of Ya-rtse in Nepal, Kha-che (Kashmir), and Kāmaṭa (Assam) sent him great presents and invitations to their countries.[75] In his last years Thang-stong received offerings and invitations from various leaders such as the ruler of the Bya myriarchy, bKra-shis dar-rgyas, and the Rin-spungs prince mTsho-skyes rdo-rje.[76] The contributions of these and other powerful and influential figures enabled Thang-stong to successfully complete the various projects upon which he embarked. His successor bsTan-'dzin Nyi-ma bzang-po (b. 1436) continued his tradition and built an iron bridge at Nya-mgo near gDan-sa-thil in the last year of Thang-stong's life. He also repaired Thang-stong's bridge at Chos-'khor-sgang and built new ones at Brag-ral-kha in 'Phan-yul, and Shar-gru-kha.[77]

Thang-stong rgyal-po was active about 500 years ago, yet his bridges and the influence of his monasteries and stūpas have remained up until the present. The iron bridge over the gTsang-po in front of Chu-bo-ri is still standing today, although the river has washed a new canal beyond the northern foundation, making it unusable during the wet season. It was still in regular use up until 1878.[78] The Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche recalls crossing an old iron bridge supposedly built by Thang-stong in Mi-nyag, making prayers at the side of the bridge, and then laying ceremonial white scarfs over the chains. He also visited another ancient iron bridge in Gu-ge on the gLang-po-che kha-babs, and the one in front of Phun-tshogs-gling on the gTsang-po, but declined to cross them because of their precarious condition.[79] The original bridges built by Thang-stong can be distinguished by small vajras which he stamped on each link of the chains. The bridge in Mi-nyag which sDe-gzhung Rinpoche visited still had some of the original links marked with vajras.[80] In Bhutan also there is still evidence of iron bridges Thang-stong constructed. In 1793 Samuel Turner visited the iron bridge at Chu-kha south of Pa-gro, and the bridge Thang-stong built in front of his monastery at rTa-mchog-sgang was still standing until washed away in a 1969 flood.[81] The bridge he constructed at Bar-grong near Dbang-'dus pho-brang is no

longer standing, but a pile of chains remain on the river bank where it once stood.[82]

Chemical analysis made in 1970 on a portion of chain link from one of Thang-stong rgyal-po's Bhutanese bridges, verifies that the chains are actually steel composed of a remarkably high percentage of iron. According to one scientific opinion, the chain was manufactured by oxidizing the iron in a dough-like state, which was the only steel manufacturing method known when high temperatures capable of smelting steel were still unattainable. This tallies well with the accounts of hammering iron in the smitheries to prepare the links for Thang-stong's bridges. It was apparently the unusually high content of arsenic in the steel which kept the chains from corroding over the last 550 years.[83]

Quite a few of Thang-stong's monasteries and temples are still in use both in Tibet and Bhutan, and several of his stūpas have survived the centuries. The Lhun-grub-steng monastery in sDe-dge was up until 1959 the most important monastery of the Sa-skya school in mDo-khams. It is said to have become a Ngor monastery of the Sa-skya sect as a result of the connection between Thang-stong and the founder of the Ngor school, Ngor-chen Kun-dga' bzang-po (1382-1456).[84] One of the inner sanctums of the monastery is the Thang-stong lha-khang which houses the

famous rDza-'bri zal-mo-sgang, a terra-cotta image of Thang-stong.[85] This monastic complex also served up until the recent past as the palace dwelling of the rulers of the region of sDe-dge.

When Thang-stong rgyal-po visited the Mi-nyag area, local tradition has it that he spent some time in a place called Yid-lhung-gshi. When he was ready to depart from the valley, the people prayed for him to remain, and in response to their requests he made a statue of himself which was a perfect likeness. In fact, it was so similar to Thang-stong that the people could not tell them apart, for this statue was miraculously able to teach dharma and travel about like a person. Everyone said there were two Thang-stong rgyal-pos. When Thang-stong left the area, this statue was used as a model for the construction of a large one-story high likeness of Thang-stong called "Mi-rgyi Thang-stong rgyal-po," and was inserted inside it as the vivifying core of the image (tsha-tsha ye-shes-dpa'). Early this century a band of 30 to 40 bandits terrorized the town, and burned down many homes and the temple. The large statue was destroyed, but the smaller original in its' interior was unharmed. The spiritual energy of the image therefore remained intact, and the temple was rebuilt and a large new statue constructed by Gong-dkar Rinpoche. This lama also rebuilt the bodhi-

stūpa Thang-stong had constructed at Dar-rtse-mdo which had been reduced to ruin by an earthquake in the early 1900's.[86]

The monastery and 35-story high bodhi-stūpa built on dPal Chu-bo-ri in Central Tibet was still in excellent condition in 1919 when visited by Kah-thog Si-tu, Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho (1880-1925). He compiled a detailed enumeration of the buildings and their contents at the time of his visit. At this monastery the entombed remains of Thang-stong's successors were preserved in great splendor, as well as many other exquisite statues and thankas made during his lifetime. Among them were a set of images from li-ma metal that Thang-stong constructed himself, two sets of thankas depicting his next seven rebirths, and works of art illustrating the non-sectarian (ris-med) nature of his teachings.[87] This monastery was also visited by G. Tucci in 1948, and by virtually every European traveler to pass through Central Tibet in the past 200 years.[88] Tucci also visited the rGyang 'bum-mo-che stūpa near Lha-rtse which Thang-stong was instrumental in building.[89]

Accounts of dPal Ri-bo-che are less frequent in this century, but in 1946 the Sa-skya Khri-chen, Ngag-dbang mthu-stobs dbang-phyug (1900-1950) visited the monastery for several weeks, and paid his respects in front of the stūpa containing the preserved remains (sku-dmar-gdung)

of Thang-stong rgyal-po. At that time the monastery and large stūpa were in good condition.[90] Thang-stong had specially consecrated the completed bridge in front of the monastery at Ri-bo-che, intending that it should remain undestroyed as long as the Buddhist teachings existed. An eyewitness report from Ri-bo-che in 1979 shows that the bridge is still in use, but during the atrocities of the cultural revolution the magnificent stūpa was reduced to a pile of clay and stone, and the monastery and all its' contents destroyed.[91]

The temple built for Thang-stong in 1430 on lCags-po-ri in Lhasa, and the bSam-grub lha-khang he established in Phag-ri near the Bhutanese border in 1434 have both survived up to the present. The latter was visited by the 25th Head-abbot of Bhutan, Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (1772-1847) in 1820. He made offerings and recited prayers in front of the blessed image of Thang-stong that was kept there.[92] Tucci also passed through Phag-ri twice, noting the art work in the temple and that by his second trip it had been largely painted over with lesser quality new work in the guise of restoration.[93] The shrine on lCags-po-ri in Lhasa was visited by Kaḥ-thog Si-tu during his pilgrimage through Central Tibet, and he mentioned the presence of many statues made from coral, conch, silver, and gold.[94] mKhyen-brtse dbang-po (1820-1892) also visited

there and specified that the statues of Amitāyus made of coral, Avalokiteśvara of conch, and Tārā of turquoise were constructed by Thang-stong rgyal-po himself.[95] sDe-gzhung Rinpoche paid a visit to the temple when he was in the Lhasa area in the 1950's, and there was at that time a large image of Thang-stong enshrined there.[96] There is in addition the tradition that the lCags-po-ri Medical College itself was founded by Thang-stong rgyal-po.[97] In the nearby Potala palace of the Dalai Lamas, there is a special image of Thang-stong called the 'ja'-tshon-ma, or "Rainbow image."[98]

Numerous examples of the influence of Thang-stong rgyal-po remain today in the country of Bhutan. The monastery of rTa-mchog nor-bu-sgang, once the chief monastery of his school in the country, is still standing. It is presided over by the rTa-mchog chos-rje who have been the hereditary leaders since the time of the great saint's visit, although at the present there is no community of monks in the establishment.[99] This monastery was destroyed by Zhabs-drung, Ngag-dbang rnam-rgyal (1594-1651) because it was the main seat of the lCags-zam-pa school which, along with four other sects in Bhutan was opposed to his rule. It was restored later by the 4th 'Brug-sde-srid, bsTan-'dzin rab-rgyas (reign: 1680-95).[100]

Of special interest in Bhutan is the bZlums-rtse stupa and temple which Thang-stong constructed during his visit to the Pa-gro area in 1433-34. The original structure built by Thang-stong is still standing today, although it was restored to a great extent by the 25th Head-abbot, Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan (reign: 1836-39).[101] It has beautiful wall paintings on its' three floors, which he commissioned, and the ground floor was expanded with a larger outer wall, and the basic structure reinforced with huge pillars carried from neighboring villages.[102]

The many varied constructions of Thang-stong rgyal-po have exerted their influence for centuries and continue to do so today in the Bhutanese area at least. He is unique in Tibetan cultural history by virtue of his singular impact on the environment, his place in popular lore, and his spiritual accomplishments. He had strong ties with the tradition of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas of India, many of whom, such as Tillopa the sesame grinder,[103] also engaged in ordinary occupations, yet the extent to which Thang-stong rgyal-po changed his country's environment through concrete activities based upon mystical theory remains unparalleled.

Notes

1. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 79a.

2. kLo is the Tibetan name for a portion of the tribal areas on the Tibeto-Assamese border now included in Arunachal Pradesh. See for instance, "The Quest for the Brahmaputra River," John Ardussi, Tibet Journal, (Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Dharamsala, H.P., Spring 1977), p. 49, note 38.

3. There is mention for instance of a very early lcags-zam on the Sindhu river during a pilgrimage to India from China by the Chinese monk Thang-zeng. The monastery Nalendra was still flourishing during his visit. See Ye-shes dpal-'byor, dPag bsam bjon bzang, op.cit., vol. 3, pt. 3, p. 121.

4. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 53b-54b.

5. Ibid., f. 50b.

6. Ibid., ff. 65b-66a.

7. Ibid., f. 71a.

8. Ibid., ff. 78a-79a.

9. Ibid., ff. 81b-86b.

10. Ibid., f. 85b.

11. Ibid., f. 84a.

12. Brag-phug dge-shes, dGe-'dun rin-chen (1926-), dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nag mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung blo gsar rna ba'i rgyan, (rTa-mgo, Bhutan, 1976), f. 76a.

13. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 86b. Kun-bzang-

'phags issued an edict in 1440, in which there was reference to the Phag-ri workers transporting loads under the orders of the rGyal-rtse government. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., pp. 662-670. f. 36a of the translated text.

14. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 87b.

15. mKhyen-brtse, sGrub thabs kun btus, op.cit., vol. 13, p. 611. Text by Ye-shes lhun-grub.

16. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 93b.

17. Ibid., f. 102a.

18. Ibid., f. 105b.

19. Ibid., f. 106b.

20. S.Ch. Das, Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet, (London, 1904), p. 143.

21. L.A. Waddell, Lhasa and Its' Mysteries, (London, 1906), pp. 312-314. Waddell says there was no toll for crossing the bridge, because the villagers kept it in free repair.

22. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 111a-111b.

23. Ibid., f. 120a.

24. Ibid., f. 113a.

25. Ibid., f. 143a. For more information on this remarkable woman, see Chapter 1.

26. D.S. Ruegg, The Life of Bu-ston Rin-po-che, (Is.MEO, Roma, 1966), p. 48.

27. 'Jam-dbyangs mKhyen-brtse dbang-phyug (1524-1568), gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi zin bris gsang chen bstan pa rgyas byed ces bya ba las.

<u>snang ba gsum du bstan pa'i lam gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzong pa'i bzhed pa ma nor ba</u>, vol. Pha of the Lam-'bras slob-bshad collection, f. 45a.

28. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, <u>op.cit.</u>, ff. 28a-28b.

29. <u>Ibid.</u>, f. 44a.

30. <u>Ibid.</u>, ff. 93b, 96a. This phrase with variant spellings of "rgyud-lam", and "rgyun-lam" is also found in the older <u>bLa ma Thang stong rgyal po'i rnam thar gsal ba'i sgron me</u>, ff. 132a, 133b. This text is a manuscript by dKon-mchog dpal-bzang, a personal disciple of Thang-stong rgyal-po, and is now kept in the rTa-mchog nor-bu-sgang monastery in Bhutan. Mr. Michael Aris copied two chapters of this text while living in Bhutan, and was kind enough to send me photo-copies of these portions and his conclusions regarding this important work.

31. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, <u>ibid.</u>, f. 105a.

32. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, <u>ibid.</u>, ff. 54a-b. /yin lugs don la skye ba med gyur kyang/ rigs drug ngan 'gro'i skye sgo bsam mi khyab/ deng nas 'gro kun skye ba thams cad du/ yin lugs skye med rtogs pa'i brka shis shog/ yin lugs don la rgas pa med gyur kyang/ na so 'gyur ba'i sdug bsngal bsam mi khyab/ deng nas 'gro kun skye ba thams cad du/ yin lugs rgas med rtogs pa'i bkra shis shog/ yin lugs don la na ba med gyur kyang/ 'byung bzhi 'khrugs pa'i sdug bsngal bsam mi khyab/ (54b) deng nas 'gro kun skye ba thams cad du/ yin lugs na med rtogs pa'i bkra shis shog/ yin lugs don la 'chi ba med gyur kyang/ sa stengs 'di na rtag par sdod dbang med/ deng nas 'gro kun skye ba thams cad du/ yin lugs 'chi med rtogs pa'i bkra shis shog/ nyams dang 'od gsal 'dres pa'i bkra shis shog/ 'od gsal ma bu 'dres pa'i bkra shis shog/ rang la rang phan byed pa'i

bkra shis shog/ gzhan phan lhun gyis grub pa'i bkra shis shog//. This song became known as the "bKra-shis yin-lugs-ma," and is used in liturgical practices following the system of Thang-stong rgyal-po.

33. Ibid., f. 165b.

34. Ibid., f. 37a. The "lha-srin sde-brgyad" according to kLong-rdol ngag-dbang blo-bzang in his bsTan bsrungs dam can rgya mtsho'i ming gi grangs, are: lha, btsan, bdud, gza', dmu, srin-po, rgyal-po, and ma-mo. See Lawrence Epstein, The Biography of the Second rGyal-dbang Karma Bagsi, University of Washington, Thesis (M.A., 1968), p. 65.

35. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit. f. 37a. There is a very similar account of an event in the life of the great yogini Ma-gcig lab-kyi sgron-ma (b. 1055). See Kun-spangs brtson-'grus seng-ge, Phung po gzan du skyur ba'i rnam par bshad pa las. ma gcig lab sgron ma'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus tsam dri med shel phreng, ff. 58b-61b. Manuscript text in 339 ff. in the University of Washington East Asian Collection.

36. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, ibid., f. 141b. /ye shes kyi nam mkha' la sprul pa'i khro tshogs kyi sprin 'dus te/ drag po sngags kyi 'brug sgrog cing rdo rje'i thog gi char pa byas dus/ mi skrag pa e yin//.

37. Ibid., f. 62a. Kong-btsun de-mo, like several other spirits encountered by Thang-stong, is a fairly well known figure in Tibetan tradition. She was one of the great spirits bound to an oath of protection by Padmasambhava during his visit to Tibet. Her story relates that she was in a previous birth one of the daughters of Indrabodhi, the king of U-rgyan. She acted as the karmamudrā, or tantric sexual partner of her brother, and faced the

severe punishment of her father, the king. Instead, she punished herself by cutting off her own head with a golden razor, and she bled white blood. She walked around the town seven times, astonishing all the citizens, who called her "The Great Noble Lady of the Severed Head" ('phags-ma dbu-gcad-ma chen-mo). Several lives later she was born in Tibet, and with her great beauty and charisma gained power over all the people and spirits of the Kong-po regions. When she met Padmasambhava, she offered everything to him, and vowed to aid dharma practitioners in the future. An account of her history was rediscovered by the treasure-finder U-rgyan las-'phro gling-pa, and is reproduced in the gSung 'bum of rTse-le rgod-tshang-pa sna-tshogs rang-grol (b. 1608), (New Delhi, 1974), vol. 5, pp. 299-302.

38. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, ibid., ff. 62b-64a. Wa-ru-ṇa is the king of all the nāgas of this universe, and travels to different subterranean locations in much the same way that a worldly king might travel to make contact with his subjects. (Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche). Thang-stong bound him to a vow of cooperation, and later left his disciple rTogs-ldan nyag-po to supervise the building of a temple and stūpa. Ibid., f. 120b. Another account of this event is found in sDe-srid Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho's dPal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa bai ḍūrya ser po'i me long, written in 1698. Śatapiṭaka Series, (New Delhi, 1960), vol. 12, pt. 2, p. 229. The monastery there in later years apparently followed the tantric traditions of the dGe-lugs-pa schools of Se-ra and 'Bras-spungs.

39. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, ibid., ff. 78b-79a. mKhar-nag

the nāga was the son of kLu-rgyal dung-skyong. His domain is about 20 miles west of Lhasa, at the confluence of the sTod-lung and sKyi-chu rivers. See Lawrence Epstein, op.cit., p. 71.

40. Georges de Roerich, "The Ceremony of Breaking the Stone," op.cit.

Hummel, Siegbert, "The Tibetan Ceremony of Breaking the Stone," op.cit.

H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark, "The Tibetan Ceremony of Breaking the Stone," op.cit.

See also Stein, Barde au Tibet, op.cit., pp. 514-516.

41. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 78b-79a.

42. Ibid., f. 113b. This episode is also cited as an example of the "occasional-hells" (nye-tshe dmyal-ba) in the rDzogs pa chen po klong chen snying thig gi sngon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung, by rDzal-dpal-sprul, O-rgyan 'jigs-med chos-kyi dbang-po (b. 1808), f. 54b., xylograph edition.

43. dKon-mchog dpal-bzang, op.cit., ff. 132a-132b.

44. Aris, Michael, "'The Admonition of the Thunder-bolt Cannon-ball' and its Place in the Bhutanese New Year Festival," London University School of Oriental and African Studies Bulletin, 1976, vol. 39, p. 607.

45. Chinese acupuncture also employs a very similar system of vital points in the body, at whose junctures needles are inserted for specific remedies.

46. Srong-btsan sgam-po, Ma ni bka' 'bum (Punakha Redaction), (Trayang and Jamyang Samten, New Delhi, 1975), 2 vols. Vol 1, pp. 394-398.

47. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 18a.

48. Ferrari, Alfonsa, op.cit., pp. 66, 154.

49. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 62b.

50. Ibid., f. 83b. It is interesting to note that the throne built at that time for Thang-stong on a rock shaped like a heap of turtles at the foot of the mountain is still visible today. (Communication from Mr. M. Aris).

51. Ibid., ff. 114a, 129b.

52. The Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, Kun-dga' bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, Bod ljongs mdo khams sga ldan skyur gsum gyi byung tshul nyung bsdus gtam gyi sa bon, p. 10. The four mountains are /lha sa'i lcags po ri. bsam yas has po ri. rtses thang gong po ri. dpal chen chu bo ri bzhi'o//. (Manuscript text in unpublished form). The number of Thang-stong's stupas is given on f. 165b. of 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit.

53. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, ibid., ff. 136b, 143a, 144b-145a, 165b.

54. Ibid., f. 50a.

55. Ibid., ff. 131a-135a.

56. Ibid., f. 19b. Thang-stong received the textual transmission (lung), and the practical instructions (dmar khrid) of the Ma ni bka' 'bum from his father's brother (pha spun gyi mched zla a jo), Chos-rje Grags-pa bzang-po. It is tempting to identify this lama with the abbot of Ngam-ring shortly before this time, who was called Chos-kyi-rje Grags-dpal bzang-po. He was abbot directly before the first term of Jo-nang Phyogs-las rnam-rgyal (1308-1386), who took the see after the death of Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa in 1361. dPal-ldan chos kyi bzang-po, op.cit., p. 199.

57. Srong-btsan sgam-po, <u>Ma ṇi bka' 'bum</u>, <u>op.cit.</u>, p. 394.

58. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, <u>op.cit.</u>, f. 135a.

59. <u>Ibid.</u>, f. 43a.

60. For a detailed enumeration of the Chu-bo-ri monastic complex, see Ka-thog Si-tu, Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, <u>op.cit.</u>, pp. 151-155.

61. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, <u>op.cit.</u>, f. 120a.

62. <u>Ibid.</u>, ff. 152b-170a.

63. dGe-'dun rin-chen, <u>op.cit.</u>, ff. 76a-76b.

64. Zhu-chen, Tshul-khrims rin-chen (1697-1774), <u>sDe dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag</u>, (Trayang and Jamyang Samten, Delhi, 1974), pp. 327-328.

65. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, <u>op.cit.</u>, f. 33a.

66. <u>Ibid.</u>, ff. 108a-109a. That some of these statues were left on lCags-po-ri is specified on f. 123b.

67. <u>Ibid.</u>, f. 165b.

68. <u>Ibid.</u>, ff. 59b, 121a.

69. <u>Ibid.</u>, f. 86b. It is said that the purpose for which the Byang king built the two stupas was to control the rival area of Lho.

70. <u>Ibid.</u>, f. 131a.

71. <u>Ibid.</u>, 135b. It is interesting to note that the contract for artisans from Byang Ngam-ring was still in effect even after the completion of the major projects on Ri-bo-che. The 1st Dalai Lama, dGe-'dun grub-pa (1391-1475) was apparently foiled in an attempt to acquire artisans from rNam-rgyal grags-bzang at Byang Ngam-ring in

1460 to complete the icons at bKra-shis lhun-po, because the workers were still under obligation to Thang-stong rgyal-po. There is a brief malicious swipe at Thang-stong by the author of the Dalai Lama's biography. 'Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi rnam sprul rim byon gyi 'khrungs rabs deb ther nor bu'i 'phreng ba, (Dharamsala, 1977), vol. 1, p. 267 of the rJe thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung nor bu'i 'phreng ba, by Ye-shes rtse-mo.

72. Ibid., f. 170a.

73. Ibid., ff. 96b, 136a.

74. Ibid., f. 143b. Thang-stong's letter in response to the gifts of the emperor, who is referred to as rGyal-po dPal-gyi 'byung-gnas, is reproduced on ff. 146b-147a.

75. Ibid., f. 152b.

76. Ibid., f. 168b.

77. Ibid., ff. 169a-170a.

78. Waddell, op.cit., p. 313. For a photograph of the monastery and bridge, see Ferrari, op.cit., plate 49.

79. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, 8/23/78. The bridge Rinpoche visited in Gu-ge was probably the same one mentioned as being in front of the mTho-gling monastery. Tibet Journal, op.cit., (Summer 1977) vol. 2, No. 2, p. 30. The iron bridge in front of Phun-tshogs-gling was built by Thang-stong rgyal-po, according to sDe-gzhung Rinpoche and Ka-thog Si-tu, op.cit., ff. 238a-238b. Several nice pictures of this iron bridge are found in Sven Hedin's Southern Tibet (Stockholm, 1917), vol. II. p. 302.

80. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, 5/22/78.

81. Captain Samuel Turner, ill. by Lieut. Samuel Davis, An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet, (1971 reprint of 1800 edition), pp. 54-55. Lieut. Davis provides fine drawings of the Chu-kha bridge. Mr. M. Aris informs me that the bridge at Nor-bu-sgang stood until 1969.

82. Communication from Mr. M. Aris.

83. H.H. Hauri and T.F. Peters, The Development of Suspension Bridge Construction from the Earliest Attempts to the Beginnings of Wire Cable Bridges, (ASCE Convention & Exposition, Boston, April 2-6, 1979), pp. 14-15.

84. Brag-g.yab gdong-kam khri-rin-po-che, Ngag-dbang dam-chos rgya-mtsho, rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa'i byung tshul dang bka'i bsdu ba ji ltar mdzad pa'i 'phros las brtsams te gleng ba zab don sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig, contained in mKhyen-brtse's rGyud sde kun btus, (N. Lungtok and N. Gyaltsan, Delhi, 1971), f. 47a. The meeting of Thang-stong and Ngor-chen is described on ff. 95a-b, 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit.

85. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 113a.

86. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche, 5/22/78.

87. Ka-thog Si-tu, op.cit., pp. 151-155.

88. G. Tucci, To Lhasa and Beyond, (Roma, IsMEO, 1965), p. 67. At the time of Tucci's visit the monastery was rNying-ma-pa.

89. Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., p. 179.

90. sDe-gzhung sprul-sku, Kun-dga' bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, dPal sa skya pa sngags 'chang bla ma khri chen rdo rje 'chang ngag dbang mthu stobs dbang phyug drag shul yon tan rgya mtsho bkra shis grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar nyung bsdus bkra shis skye ba lnga pa'i sgra dbyangs, (dbu-med manuscript copy), p. 77.

91. "Life in Chung Riwoche", Tibetan Review, op.cit., Aug. 1979, p. 5.

92. Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan's (1772-1847) autobiography, op.cit., f. 29a.

93. Tucci, To Lhasa and Beyond, op.cit., p. 36.

94. Ka-thog Si-tu, op.cit., p. 133.

95. Ferrari, op.cit., p. 41, f. 4b of mKhyen-brtse's Tibetan text.

96. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche.

97. Tashi Dorje, "Education in Tibet", Tibet Journal, op.cit., p. 33.

98. Ferrari, op.cit., p. 40, f. 4a of the Tibetan text.

99. dGe-'dun rin-chen, op.cit., f. 76a. The first of the rTa-mchog Chos-rje was Mon-pa bDe-ba bzang-po, Thang-stong's personal disciple, who according to Bhutanese tradition was born from the droppings of a bird-emanation of Thang-stong. bDe-ba bzang-po is also mentioned as a disciple of Thang-stong by 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 152b. The knowledge that there is at present no community of monks at rTa-mchog-sgang, I owe to Mr. Michael Aris.

100. dGe-'dun rin-chen, ibid., f. 76b.

101. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 83b. The restoration is mentioned by Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, op.cit., ff. 27b, 63a-63b.

102. Information from Mr. Michael Aris.

103. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 24a, 94b. Thang-stong's guru dPal-'byor shes-rab recognized him as the rebirth of Tillopa and Ku-ku-ri-pa, two of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas.

Chapter 5

LUNG-STONG SMYON-PA
"MADMAN OF THE EMPTY VALLEY"

Thang-stong rgyal-po was widely known as Lung-stong smyon-pa, "Madman of the Empty Valley," one of five names given to him by the ḍākinīs. He is famed as one of the great "mad saints" of Tibetan history, along with three of his younger contemporaries, gTsang-smyon Heruka (1452-1507), 'Brug-smyon Kun-dga' legs-pa (1455-1529), and Dbus-smyon Kun-dga' bzang-po (1458-1532).[1] These eccentric tantric yogins and their Tibetan predecessors based their behavior upon the most authentic Indian scriptural sources, and modeled themselves after great tantric gurus such as Padmasambhava and the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas of ancient India. Buddhist traditions in India which were the sources for the tantric Buddhism developed in Tibet, are full of stories and teachings connected with saints such as Saraha, Virūpa, and Nāropa, whose actions earned them the epitath "mad" (smyon-pa).[2]

The Hindu pantheon, and that of the tantric Buddhist schools, provide the paradigms for the eccentric behavior of the mad saints. Shiva, Krishna, Kālī, and other divine figures manifest the deranged, capricious, and paradoxical behavior which is also one of the trademarks of the Hindu

holy man.[3] In the Hevajra-tantra and other primary tantric Buddhist scriptures, the description of the fearful heruka, dressed in cemetery ornaments, is presented as the model for liberation.[4] Based upon the contents of these texts, some of the greatest spiritual heros in Vajrayāna Buddhism achieved enlightenment and shocked their contemporaries from saṃsāric slumber.

When religious "madness" is spoken of in the tantric Buddhist context, it is as a mode of "chosen or prescribed behavior" (brtul-zhugs spyod-pa) directed at a specific goal of spiritual realization.[5] One of the texts in the Thang stong snyan brgyud, a collection of teachings originally passed down orally from Thang-stong rgyal-po, quotes the great woman saint Ma-gcig Lab-sgron's statement concerning proper yogic conduct following realization. In response to a question by one of her sons, she recommended acting like a child with unfeigned spontaneity, like a lunatic with no regard for what is conventionally acceptable, like a leper with no attachment to one's own physical well-being, and like a wild animal who wanders in isolated and rough terrain.[6] In India there were many saints who manifested these and other unusual methods, and the traditions and doctrines they upheld were continued in Tibet.

Although mad saints appear in virtually every Tibetan tradition, they are most often found in the rNying-ma-pa

and bKa'-brgyud-pa schools. The Zhi-byed and gCod traditions originated by Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas and Ma-gcig Lab-sgron also provide much evidence of religious madness. Thang-stong rgyal-po's ties with the gCod tradition are attested to by several events in his biography, but most notably by the transmission of his oral gCod teachings preserved through the present day.[7]

In the rNying-ma-pa tradition most of the mad saints were treasure revealers (gter-ston). One of the most important treasure revealers , Nyang-ral Nyi-ma 'od-zer (1124-1192), was called insane at the age of seven because of his strange behavior following a visionary initiation by Padmasambhava.[8] O-rgyan gling-pa (1323-ca. 1360) the discoverer of the bKa' thang sde lnga, was known as "madman of the treasures" (gter-smyon).[9] There were many others similarly famed, such as the great Bhutanese revealer of treasures, Padma gling-pa, but Thang-stong rgyal-po's most intimate connections were with the Byang-gter, or "Northern Treasure" tradition of the rNying-ma-pa.[10]

The most important of the Byang-gter lamas was dNgos-grub rgyal-mtshan (1337-1408), prophesied by Padmasambhava, and upon occasion called "a crazy yogin with feathers in his hair."[11] At a young age, 8 protruberances resembling vulture feathers (rgod-ldem) sprouted from the crown of his head, signifying he had been graced by Padmasambhava.

He was therefore known as rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can. One of Thang-stong rgyal-po's most important masters was Kun-spangs Don-yod rgyal-mtshan who had actually studied under rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can, and passed all of his treasured tradition to Thang-stong.[12] The gCod teachings also have a place in the Byang-gter tradition, although the rNying-ma-pa lineages of gCod originate with Padmasambhava and not Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas. The treasure revealer Zla-ba rgyal-mtshan who was one of the successors of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can in the Byang-gter and gCod lineages is referred to as having "adopted the chosen behavior of a gCod practicer, or an insane like manner,"[13] Thang-stong rgyal-po was himself a treasure revealer, and although none of his texts have survived, their essence was transmitted to 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po in the form of dGongs-gter or "mind treasure."[14]

The phenomena of the mad saint flowered in the 15th century, and was most pronounced among adherents to the bKa'-brgyud-pa schools, as has been pointed out by E.G. Smith.[15] Thang-stong's connections with the Shangs-pa bka'-brgyud-pa tradition are very important. gTsang-smyon, 'Brug-smyon, and Dbus-smyon all had their strongest ties with bKa'-brgyud-pa traditions, although they studied at institutions of other schools early in their careers. Certainly the strongest influence upon gTsang-smyon was

the life and teachings of the great master Mi-la-ras-pa (1040-1123), who was in many ways the mad saint par excellence. Mila once met Pha-dam-pa sangs-rgyas, the Indian originator of the Zhi-byed (Calming) system. Pha-dam-pa tried to disguise himself from Mila, and called him crazy when Mila payed him respects. In response Mila sang this eloquent definition of his religious madness:

> To the lord, my omniscient lama,
> I pray as a begger--grant me your blessings!
> Please listen, Indian yogin.
> Struck by the demon of ignorance,
> beings of the six realms in general are crazy.
> Realizing appearances are illusory,
> Mi-la-ras-pa expecially is crazy.
> With clairvoyant knowledge of other's minds,
> My old father Mar-pa the Translator is crazy.
> Courageous in austerities for the sake of dharma,
> My grandfather Nā-ro the great scholar was crazy.
> With inconceivable abilities of magical transformation,
> My great grandfather Ti-lo sher-bzang was crazy.
> Bestowing similtaneous bliss,
> Vajrayoginī is crazy too.

As the seal of great bliss without defilement,

Vajradhāra, (the source of my) lineage is crazy.

Not clearly showing your form to me,

Dam-pa, the object of my respect, you're crazy too!

Father's crazy, son's crazy, grandfather's crazy!

You're crazy, I'm crazy, everyone's crazy!

Some are crazed by ignorant deeds.

Some are crazed by the river of passions.

Some are crazed by the fire of hatred.

Some are crazed by the darkness of stupidity.

Some are crazed by the poison of pride.

You're crazed by knowing other's minds.

I'm crazed by realizing the way things are.

You're crazed from realizing the meaning of the secret melodies.

I'm crazed from realizing the unborn truth.

You're crazed by the practice of Calming.

I'm crazed by realizing the truth

> of Mahāmudrā.
>
> This song sung upon the meeting of lunatics is the empty sound of Mahāmudrā.[16]

Here Mila sings with profound humor of his "madness," but most often, a saint was known as "mad" if he displayed extremely eccentric behavior. In the case of Thang-stong rgyal-po, this type of manner was referred to in a prophecy concerning him made by Padmasambhava.

> My mind emanation will be dark in color, of sweet scent, and adorned with a beard;
>
> Who with his relaxed nature and dynamic intelligence will maintain varied and unpredictable conduct.[17]

The unpredictable methods alluded to in Padmasambhava's prophecy about Thang-stong began to manifest themselves at an early age, and they parallel similar traits found in the life stories of other mad saints. Thang-stong was first called "mad" by his father and the members of his village when, as a child, he subdued a malicious spirit responsible for an epidemic. He was perhaps considered deranged because he sought to control the demon without any of the training required for such a feat. His father and the villagers were terrified that the demon would retaliate and cause further suffering for them all.

Thang-stong told them what remedies were necessary to placate the spirit, but only his mother listened to him, while his father and the villagers just thought he was crazy.[18]

When very young Thang-stong had almost been expelled from the monastery of Byang-ldings because of his rowdiness, and not long thereafter he went to pursue his studies at the great monastic center of Sa-skya. There he earned the nickname brTson-'grus smyon-pa (Crazy Diligent One) because of his disinterest in explaining the scriptural definitions of the highest states of realization. He was instead absorbed in experiencing these states, and considered the sterile scholars to be "parrot paṇḍitas" (ne-tso'i paṇ-ḍi-ta).[19] This event brings to mind the story of gTsang-smyon being expelled from dPal 'Khor-lo bde-chen monastery for raving idiotically in front of important guests.[20] Thang-stong rgyal-po some years before had ridden his horse into the sanctuary of the same monastery and been stoned by the monks.[21] 'Brug-smyon also expressed early his disdain for formal study in the stuffy monastic environment.[22]

The application of the behavior of a madman, and the other unusual styles of action, can come about in a deliberate manner, or may arise in a spontaneous and ecstatic way. In the Saṃvarodaya-tantra, for example, it is empha-

sized that a yogin should first follow the traditional stages of preliminary discipline and devotion to his guru. Then he may embark upon several methods of conduct, one of which is described in this way:

> Always wander without friends, alone and with a well focused mind.
>
> On the basis of the chosen behavior of madness, roam about like a leaf tossed by the wind.[23]

On the other hand, a vision of a deity, or some similar experience can serve as the catalyst for an ecstatic outburst of madness, or the assumption of a specific chosen behavior. The revealer of treasures, Kun-skyong gling-pa (1396-1477/83), when 13 years old, acted as though insane when a ḍākinī revealed to him where a treasure text was hidden. He was called crazy by his father following his ecstatic display.[24] Because of his eccentric manner, Thang-stong rgyal-po was referred to as brTson-'grus smyon-pa from an early age, but the name Lung-stong smyon-pa was bestowed upon him by the ḍākinīs and served as a seal, or proof, of his high realization.

There are many reasons behind the cultivation of madness and other modes of chosen behavior, but specific styles of conduct are always chosen in order to benefit others to the greatest extent in accordance with the Mahā-

yāna Buddhist emphasis on bodhicitta. The most influential event convincing Thang-stong rgyal-po that he should employ the various forceful means of tantric yoga occurred when he received the treasure teachings of rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can from his teacher Don-yod rgyal-mtshan. Thang-stong was still young and as a newly ordained bhikṣu felt some misgivings concerning the various violent means advocated in these treasures left by Padmasambhava. As he pondered whether these techniques were in conflict with the demeanor of a bhikṣu, he was graced with an awesome vision of a terrible Padmasambhava, resplendent in the sky amidst rainbow light, surrounded by yogins and yoginīs. Padmasambhava indicated the yogins to his right eating a human corpse, the yoginīs to his left partaking of a skull cup filled with beer, and finally himself in sexual union with his consort rDo-rje phag-mo. When Thang-stong beheld this vision, he considered it to be a symbolic command that if the good of others was accomplished through reliance upon the sacramental substances and chosen behavior, he should perform even the four defeating acts (pham-pa bzhi).[25] He immediately went into strict seclusion for three years, at the end of which time Padmasambhava appeared again and directly urged him to assume the manner of a tantric yogin.

> You are an emanation-body yogin, a possessor of dharma.
> Maintain and carry out chosen behavior!
> Your activities among those to be trained will be widespread.
> Saraha and Virūpa, Tillipa and Nāropa wore the garments of a yogin.[26]

From this time Thang-stong apparently began to dress in a simple cloak, in keeping with the yogic lifestyle, and continued to employ controversial modes of behavior in his quest for spiritual perfection and the ability to aid others.

The actions performed by the mad saint serve to heighten for the yogin himself the process of spiritual realization referred to as "equal flavor" (ro-snyoms). The realization of equal flavor was a stated goal of the Siddhas of ancient India, and is referred to in the major tantric sources such as the Hevajra-tantra. The idea that all phenomena, in the ultimate sense, are of equal value or "flavor" by virtue of their lack of intrinsic nature is firmly maintained in Buddhist Mādhyamika theory. The expression of this theory through manifestation of a lifestyle which directly shows the fragility of normal distinctions and value judgements, is what sets apart the mad saint from his more conventional contemporaries.

The behavior used to further the realization of equal flavor is aimed at breaking down the habitual functioning of self-centered consciousness, and developing equanimity towards the eight worldly attitudes. The inner development of equal flavor is portrayed by Thang-stong rgyal-po with this vivid tantric image:

> The zombies of the eight worldly attitudes stalk through the graveyard of confused concepts.
>
> This inescapable and frightening place, is the spot to carry out the performance of equal flavor.[27]

Total control over the ordinary, random conceptual process, achieved through experiencing all mental formations as of equal flavor, is often tested and proven through external acts which mirror the internal conquest. This is well illustrated in an episode which occurred soon after Thang-stong built the first iron suspension bridge in Tibet in 1430.

> On the road going to sTod-lungs the Mahāsiddha met several men of Mi-nyag. They requested dharma and offered him many of their bodily possessions such as a helmet, a sword, and bow and arrows. He wore them on his body and continued to the border of Sa-kha-nag-pa and Gye-re tshar-pa.

There was a blood feud between the people of Mi-nyag and Gye-re. They thought he was a Khams-pa Mi-nyag man, stole his bodily possessions, and stuck him with arrows, sticks, knives and so forth. The Mahāsiddha experienced pleasure and pain as of equal flavor and so did not strike back nor say anything. They knew he was a fitting victim and tied a rope to his penis weighted with a stone and left him hanging on a fence.

The next morning, day broke, and they said, "This is the Mahāsiddha lCags-zam-pa! We have comitted a grave sin." They pulled him down from where he was hung on the fence, and although he was not at all angry, offered their confessions with great regret.

He was overjoyed, and said, "I have attained the profound power of longevity."[28]

The attainment of equal flavor was conventionally sought by the yogin through a wandering or secluded lifestyle, poverty, and strenuous physical and mental training. Others, however, engaged in the performance of chosen behavior (brtul-zhugs spyod-pa), and there were no doubt many fakes who gave the genuine yogin following this path a bad name. In various situations Thang-stong rgyal-po was taken for an idiot, a madman, a beggar, a thief, and even a ghoul ('dre). Once a scholarly monk accused him of being a charlatan (zog-po) who deceived the faithful people by dressing like a yogin. He replied to these

insults in an effort to correct mistaken opinions and conduct towards "yogins who maintain the practice of chosen behavior, and wear cloaks." Thang-stong explained his own cloak, endowing every clasp and thread with an esoteric meaning, and referred to himself sarcastically as "a charlatan clad in my cloak."[29]

The highly unconventional techniques employed by Thang-stong, gTsang-smyon, and other mad saints must be viewed according to the behavioral criteria found in the Tantric Buddhist tradition, and not those of the Hinayāna tradition to which they do not belong. Furthermore, these unorthodox methods are not advocated in the tantric context except for those who have already reached a high degree of spiritual realization. Ultimately, it is impossible to discern the validity of chosen behavior embarked upon by another person. The individual alone knows his own level of realization and thus can be the only judge of whether or not the assumption of unconventional behavior is appropriate. It is said that one who performs the extreme actions of chosen behavior but is not sufficiently mature will in future lives be born in the Vajra hell realms.[30]

The yogin who is acting to accelerate his awareness of the ultimate identity of all phenomena may seem to others to be a madman or fool with none of the normal value judgements guiding his activities. But it is only from

the conventional viewpoint that the behavior of the mad saint is aberrant. A scholarly monk once remarked to gTsang-smyon Heruka, "They say there is a mad mendicant around. Are you he?" (gTsang-smyon) replied, "There are different ways to see it. When I look it's you who is crazy."[31]

To the saints, normal men seem asleep, dead, or mad in their insane quest after ephemeral pleasures.[32] The mad yogin has freed himself from the limitations and bonds of saṃsāra, and it is actually the worldly person who is trapped by the stringent ties of his narrow viewpoint. The mad saint is totally uncompromising both in his life-style and the content of his teachings, and directly confronts existence in saṃsāra by his employment of dynamic methods in the search for liberation. gTsang-smyon Heruka was once accused by the Gung-thang king bSam-grub-sde of being a disgusting, deranged, gluttonous imposter. He responded by singing a song of his method of madness, from which one verse suggests the wild forceful approach by the mad saint in attempting to take the gates of liberation by storm.

> Driven by burning experiential realization,
> I suddenly rose from the bed of passion.

Casting off the garments of the two obscurations together with their associated habits,
Stainless awareness fled away naked.
The six aggregates (of cognition) I laid aside with no shame,
And smashed together the eight worldly attitudes.
I lept into the abyss which has no height nor depth;
The head of the five poisonous passions was broken,
And saṃsāric awareness of subject and object splattered out.
If mad in such a way, it would be good if even the king himself went mad![33]

The realization of equal flavor as a major goal of the mad saint is sustained and heightened through the application of chosen behavior as the method. Thang-stong rgyal-po often confronted negative situations, and sometimes dealt with them in a manner very difficult to interpret. One episode illustrating the method of chosen behavior applied for the common good, and demonstrating Thang-stong's attainment of equal flavor occurred during a trip through 'Phan-yul, a valley north of Lhasa.

Saying, "I'm going to 'Phan-yul to cause a sequence of events which will free us from the great famine," the Iron-Bridge Man, with six disciples traveled to 'Phan-yul.

He said, "Whomever you meet today, rob them of what they have!"

Traveling from 'Phan-yul rGyal-chen-rtse, he met a woman coming along carrying a load of barley for which she had gone into debt.

"Give me that barley!" he said.

"O' Patron, Lama from Khams, please! Other than this, I have nothing for my large family to eat," she replied, but he robbed her of the barley, and away he fled whipping his horse.

The woman called for help to many Khams-pa Mi-nyag men who were passing, and they chased and caught him. Not recognizing the Mahāsiddha, they thought he was an A-mdo man.

They bound him, beat him, dunked him in the water, and threw him down on his back. They stuck their assholes in his face and discharged filth on him and so forth, but the Mahāsiddha thought, "It's a fine sequence of events," and was overjoyed.

The Mi-nyag leader thought, "Those dim-witted servants have carried the beating too far. They may have killed him," and mounting his horse, hurried over. He recognized the Mahāsiddha, lept from his horse, prostrated, and said, "Great Lama, are you in distress?"

"Today has been a fine sequence of events for me. From the day after tomorrow famine among the Tibetan people will cease," he replied. Showing to the Mi-nyag leader the barley he had robbed from the woman, he said, "Send this barley with some of my monks who are following after me."

Laying his whip to the horse, he said, "I'm returning to Lhasa," and left.

The Mi-nyag leader repayed the woman with barley, and gave the original to the Iron Bridge Man's monks. It was exchanged with the old barley in the Jo-bo's alms bowl, and the Mahāsiddha prayed.[34]

The most eccentric deeds Thang-stong performed, those which could be called insane, can be understood in small measure only if we can properly discern their motivation. Thang-stong certainly realized that this would not be possible for many, and upon one occasion remarked that "I will come to be seen by half of Tibet as an actual Buddha, but half will see me as a ghoul."[35] Once while in seclusion on the peak of Ri-bo-che, he wrote down a series of verses pointing out that things are not always as they might seem, and passed them out to a group of monks and laborers gathered in front of his dwelling.

You faithful workers of virtue, listen to whether this is crooked or straight!

All that's straight isn't straight.
A fool's straight is crooked.

All that's crooked isn't crooked.
A wise man's crooked is straight.

All benefit isn't beneficial.
A fool's benefit is harmful.

All harm isn't harmful.
A wise man's harm is beneficial.

All happiness isn't happiness.
A fool's happiness is suffering.

All suffering isn't suffering.
A wise man's suffering is happiness.[36]

The actual intent of any action performed by Thang-stong, regardless of it's apparent nature, was always to do the greatest possible good. He sometimes achieved this by doing precisely the opposite of what would be expected. His manipulation of the environment for the good of others through the use of actions that were negative in appearance, but positive in essence and result, was the pragmatic application of the tantric axiom expressed in the Hevajra-tantra:

> (46) With the very poison, a little of which would kill any other being, a man who understands poison would dispel another poison.
> (50) Those things by which men of evil conduct are bound, others turn into means and gain thereby release from the bonds of existence.
> (51) By passion the world is bound, by passion too it is released.[37]

In Mahāyāna Buddhism the primary emphasis is upon awakening bodhicitta, the enlightened state of mind in which all activity is motivated by compassionate concern

for the welfare of others. This concern is the deciding factor in determining the moral validity of any specific deed, and may overbalance the negative force of actions which appear on the surface to be of the basest sort. Sa-skya Paṇḍita (1182-1251) discussed this topic in his definitive work, the sDom gsum rab dbye:

> Such (deeds) as the killing of one to save many, are black deeds with white results...
>
> For a Śrāvaka great passion is a downfall, even if for the benefit of sentient beings.
>
> In the Mahāyāna, if it is for the good of others, great passion is not a downfall.[38]

The problem of defining virtue and sin in the tantric tradition is dealt with in a text of the Thang stong snyan brgyud, the collection of gCod practices originating with Thang-stong rgyal-po. Although a detailed discussion of this important problem is not possible here, the main point emphasized in this text can be clearly stated. As it is explained, both virtue and non-virtue are manifestations of the individual's state of mind. Therefore, it is the state of mind which ultimately defines whether a virtuous or non-virtuous act is performed. If, for instance, one is not acting with selfish and non-virtuous intent, but for the purpose of turning others away from

non-virtue, lying and using harsh words are not a vocal fault. These acts, if impelled by a virtuous mind, are actually virtuous. The same applies to physical acts, even killing, which if done under the power of the passions, are sins. If done with unfeigned love and compassion, they are not sinful, but are actually virtuous.[39] The true nature of any act, therefore, is dependent upon whether or not self-centered consciousness has been transcended, as Thang-stong rgyal-po once stated to one of his disciples.

> Absence of clinging to self is destruction of confusion.
> Saṃbhogakāya is unceasing luminescence.
> Nirmāṇakāya is manifold in appearance.
> Dharmakāya is radiant emptiness.
> Buddhahood is the purity of your mind.
> Phenomena are images in a dream.
> When you understand dharmas like that, there is no karma and no karmic result,
> No ripening of karma, and no cause and result.
> There is no person to experience it, because there is no clinging to a self.
> There is no result of white or black karma, because there is no confusion.
> In the ordinary deluded state of those who don't comprehend,
> There is karma and karmic result, the ripening of karma, and joy and suffering.

There is a person to experience it,
because there is clinging to a self.
There is white and black karma and its' result.
On the side of conventional, ordinary confusion,
Cause, result, and karma must be taken as true!
Exercise great bodhicitta and compassion!
Be mindfully careful, and rely upon attentiveness!
Strictly guard the three vows and the sacred commitments![40]

Most of the great mad saints lived during the 14th and 15th centuries, but there is only one known meeting between any of them. Thang-stong rgyal-po and gTsang-smyon Heruka were the most important of these eccentric masters, in terms of their lasting influence upon Tibetan culture and religion. The account of their meeting portrays the continuity of the tradition of saintly madness in Tibet and heralds the appearance of gTsang-smyon as the next great mad saint. The year was 1476 and Thang-stong rgyal-po was 115 years old.

(gTsang-smyon) had reached 24 years of age and with his nephew for an attendant traveled through La-stod Byang to the foot of dPal-chen Ri-bo-che. The Precious Lord sent his nephew

ahead, and following behind, came to where the Mahāsiddha Thang-stong rgyal-po was performing the 10th-day gaṇacakra on the peak of Ri-bo-che. He rushed straight up to him. Just in front of the Mahāsiddha there was an enormous bowl covered both inside and out with pap, and filled with beer. The Lord took it in his hands and drank it. All the people were stunned, and even the Mahāsiddha stared at him for a moment. Then the Lord suddenly bit the Mahāsiddha's beard.

(Thang-stong) jerked his head back and exclaimed, "A Tsa Tsa!"

The Lord remarked, "What kind of Mahāsiddha is this? He cries out in pain, unable to bear even the sting of his beard."

The Mahāsiddha laughed, and said with embarassment, "A fine sequence of events. Give me that garment of yours."

The Lord replied, "It's always a fine sequence of events, but that's not your fault. I'll take this," and grabbed the Mahāsiddha's cloak.

"Delightful chosen behavior," the Mahāsiddha said, "I don't need you and you don't need me, so now get out! I'll see that you have no obstacles."[41]

Thang-stong rgyal-po lived in a social environment that was willing to accept the chosen lifestyles of the mad saints once it had been established that they were genuine spiritual masters and not spurious imitators. At various times during his life, Thang-stong enjoyed the

patronage of an emperor of China, several Phag-mo-gru rulers, kings of Gung-thang, Byang Ngam-ring, and many other important leaders. His cultural heritage in the form of iron bridges, stūpas, and monasteries, is still felt today. His religious teachings have been preserved and spread throughout every lineage in Tibet.

The Tibetan mad saints were not members of any fringe element, or regarded as fanatics in the context of Tibetan historical judgement. Instead, they were most often charismatic leaders and systematizers of the doctrine and serve as models for those who would reach highest realization on the tantric Buddhist path. They were the gurus of kings and emperors, although they were just as often their antagonists as their supporters. Regardless of the relationship one might have with these eccentric teachers, whether as a patron in the wastelands of west Tibet, or as a reader of their life stories 500 years later in an alien, modern culture, the effect upon one who is aware of their inner quest cannot but be one of inspiration.

Notes

1. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 38a. rGyal-dbang Kun-dga' dpal-'byor (1428-1476) praised Thang-stong with the name Lung-stong smyon-pa and others given by the ḍākinīs, in a letter requesting him to return to southeast Tibet. This is one of several indications that Thang-stong was famed by this name even during his lifetime. See the Collected Works of rGyal-dbang Kun-dga' dpal-'byor, (Kunzang Tobgay, Thimphu, Bhutan, 1976), vol. 2, pp. 445-446.

Prof. R.A. Stein has translated the first of the four volumes of the autobiography of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs as Vie et chants de 'Brug-pa Kun-legs le yogin, (G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1972). There is also some mention of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, Thang-stong rgyal-po, and mad saints in his Barde au Tibet, op.cit. The most detailed discussion in English of 'Brug-pa Kun-legs in particular, and saintly madness in Tibet in general, is John A. Ardussi's M.A. thesis for the University of Washington in 1972, entitled 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, The Saintly Tibetan Madman.

For information on gTsang-smyon Heruka and religious madness in Tibet, see E.G. Smith's "Preface" to The Life of the Saint of gTsang, op.cit.

2. The canonical version of the lives of the Eighty-four Mahāsiddhas is by Abhayadattaśrī (Mi-'jigs-pa sbyin-pa dpal), Lu yi pa sogs grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i yang dag lo rgyus, Peking bsTan-'gyur, op.cit., vol. 87, pp. 175-201. The most detailed study of the Mahāsiddhas is a translation of this text by James Robinson, The Eighty-four Siddhas, Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1975.

3. David Kinsley, "'Through the Looking Glass':

Divine Madness in the Hindu Religious Tradition", p. 286, published in History of Religions, (University of Chicago Press, vol. 13 no. 4, May 1974), pp. 270-305.

4. See David L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, (London; Oxford University Press, 1959, 2 vols.).

5. The Tibetan term "brtul-zhugs" is a translation of the Sanskrit word "vrata." The range of meaning for this term is extremely wide, sometimes denoting any type of behavior in a general sense, and at other times indicating a specific disciplined manner of conduct. In a ritual context it has been translated as "ritual observance," by Wayman who notes that the term is of ancient usage in India. Alex Wayman, The Buddhist Tantras, (Samual Weiser, N.Y., 1973), p. 117.

6. Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., vol. 1, p. 53.

7. For more information on the gSang spyod snyan brgyud, also known as the Thang stong snyan brgyud, see Chapter 1.

8. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, Bai dūr ya'i phreng ba, f. 48a, in the Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit., vol. 1. This collection of lives of the treasure revealers is one of the most authoritative sources available. There is frequent mention of holy madness in the lineage of Nyi-ma 'od-zer. See for example the bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i bla ma rgyud pa'i gsol 'debs, f. 3b. Published in the bKa' brgyad bde gshegs 'dus pa'i chos skor, (Damchoe Sangpo, Dalhousie, H.P., 1977).

9. R.A. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, (Stanford University Press, 1972), p. 276. See pp. 153-156 for a short discussion of mad saints in Tibet.

10. Padma gling-pa also signed works as "madman of

the treasures." Padma gling pa gter chos, (Thimphu, Bhutan, 1975), vol. 3, p. 561.

11. Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, the 5th Dalai Lama, Byang pa rig 'dzin ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho, included in Padma 'phrin-las, bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar, op.cit., p. 443, /rnal 'byor smyon pa skra rgod can zhig byung/.

12. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 25b.

13. Ngag-dbang bstan-'dzin nor-bu, gCod yul nyon mongs zhi byed kyi bka' gter bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar byin rlabs gter mtsho, (Sonam T. Kazi, Gantok, 1972), p. 110, /gcod pa'i brtul zhugs sam smyo spyod lta bu bzhes/.

14. See Chapter 1 for information on Thang-stong's gter-ma teachings.

15. E.G. Smith, "Preface" to The Saint of gTsang, op.cit., p. 1.

16. rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rdo rje'i mgur 'bum sogs gsung rgyun thor bu 'ba', edited by Lha-btsun Rinchen rnam-rgyal and printed at Brag-dkar rta-so. University of Washington, East Asia Library, microfilm reel #B3-1b, ff. 91a-b. /rje mkhyen pa can gyi bla ma la/ sprang gsol ba 'debs so byin gyi rlobs/ rgya gar gyi rnal 'byor gsan par zhu/ ma rig pa'i gdon gyis btab pa na/ spyir rigs drug sems can thams cad smyo/ snang ba sgyu mar rtogs pas na/ sgos su mi la ras pa smyo/ gzhan brgyud mkhyen pa'i mngon shes can/ pha rgan mar pa lo tshā smyo/ chos phyir dka' spyad snying stobs can/ mes pa nā ro pan chen smyo/ sprul (f. 91b) sgyur nus mthu bsam mi khyab/ yang mes ti lo sher bzang smyo/ lhan gcig skyes pa'i bde ba ster/ rdo rje rnal 'byor ma yang smyo/ bde chen zag med kha sbyor

bzhugs/ brgyud pa rdo rje 'chang chen smyo/ rang lus gsal bar mi ston pa/ phyag yul dam pa khyed kyang smyo/ pha smyo bu smyo mes po smyo/ khyed smyo nga smyo thams cad smyo/ la la ma rig las kyi smyo/ la la 'dod chags chu yis smyo/ la la zhe sdang me yis smyo/ la la gti mug mun pas smyo/ la la nga rgyal dug gis smyo/ khyed ni gzhan rgyud mkhyen pas smyo/ nga ni gnas lugs rtogs pas smyo/ khyed ni dbyangs gsang don rtogs smyo/ nga ni skye med don rtogs smyo/ khyed ni zhi byed spyod pas smyo/ nga ni phyag chen don rtogs smyo/ smyon pa nang phrad glu blangs 'di/ grag stong phyag rgya chen po yin/.

This song has recently been translated in a collection of stories and songs of Mi-la-ras-pa, taken from a different edition of the same Tibetan text. Drinking the Mountain Stream, by Lama Kunga Rinpoche and Brian Cutillo, (Lotsawa, New York, 1978), pp. 86-87.

17. The Lung bstan gsal ba'i sgron me, was concealed by Padmasambhava in the Zer-chen cave at Tsa-ri and later recovered by Thang-stong rgyal-po. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 110b. This text, like the other gter-ma of Thang-stong rgyal-po, has apparently been lost. I have used the quote provided on f. 2b, ibid. /mdog smug dri zhim sme bas brgyan/ ngang rgyud dal zhing rig rtsal che/ ma nges spyod pa sna tshogs skyong/ de ni nga yi thugs sprul yin/.

18. Ibid., f. 14a.

19. Ibid., ff. 17a-17b.

20. sNa-tshogs rang-grol, The Saint of gTsang, op.-cit., f. 34b.

21. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 127b.

22. John Ardussi, 'Brug-pa Kun-legs, op.cit., p. 4.

23. dPal bde mchog sdom pa 'byung ba, rGyud vol. Ga, Lhasa edition of the bKa'-'gyur, f. 41a. /rtag tu grogs po med par rgyu/ gcig pu yid ni rtse gcig pas/ smyon pa'i brtul zhugs la brten nas/ lo ma rlung gis bskyod bzhin 'khyam/. Portions of this tantra have been translated by Shinichi Tsuda, The Saṃvarodaya-tantra, Selected Chapters, (Tokyo, 1974).

24. Kun-bzang nges-don klong-yangs, op.cit., p. 208.

25. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 26a. These four acts are: 1. To kill a human being, 2. To engage in sexual misconduct,which is determined according to the specific vows taken, 3. To lie about possessing supernormal powers or siddhis which one does not have, 4. To steal something worth more than the amount of food eaten in a single meal. The performance of these acts is stated in the rules of the Vinaya to destroy one's vows , and for this reason are called "defeating" (pham-pa). Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita makes a similar point concerning the performance of these acts on the bodhisattva path:

> Even the four defeating acts, if performed with a mind firmly set on benefiting others,
> Are stated to be virtues for a Bodhisattva, and sins for Śrāvakas.

/gzhan gyi don gyi sems brtan pa'i/ pham pa bzhi po spyad na yang/ byang chub sems dpa'i dge ba ste/ nyan thos rnams kyi sdig par gsungs/. sDom pa gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos, f. 9b. Vol.5, p. 301, in the Sa skya bka' 'bum, (Toyo Bunko, Tokyo, 1968).

26. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 26a. /chos ldan sprul sku rnal 'byor khyod/ brtul zhugs skyongs la spyod

pa gyis/ gdul bya 'phrin las rgyas par 'gyur/ sa ra ha dang bi rū pa/ til li pa dang nā ro pa/ rnal 'byor pa yi cha lugs yin/. Sa-skya Pandita, op.cit., f. 12a, points out that if it were simply the garments of ordination which indicated the possession of a state of mind disciplined by vows, then it would be proper to criticize the bodhisattvas who wear jewel ornaments and fine attire forbidden to monks. He also states that the Mahāsiddhas Birūpa, Tillipa, and Nāropa discarded the outer trappings of the bhikṣu, but can hardly be considered sinners because of it.

27. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 103b. /rnam rtog 'khrul pa'i dur khrod na/ 'jig rten chos brgyad ro langs rgyu/ thar med 'jigs su rung ba'i gnas/ ro snyoms spyod pa byed pa (sa) yin/. The alternate reading which I am following in this case, is from the copy of the Nor bu'i me long kept in the Tibet House library, New Delhi, f. 106b. This print is of unknown provenance, perhaps a Ri-bo-che print.

The eight worldly attitudes ('jig-rten chos-brgyad) are: 1. gain (rnyed-pa), 2. loss (ma-rnyed-pa), 3. reputation (snyen-pa), 4. notoriety, (mi-snyen-pa), 5. slander (smad-pa), 6. praise (bstod-pa), 7. pleasure (bde-ba), 8. suffering (sdug-bsngal).

28. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 81b. /grub thob chen po stod lungs na byon pa'i lam du/ mi nyag 'ga' re dang mjal/ chos zhus/ rmog/ ral gri/ mda' gzhu sogs lus chas mang po phul ba sku la bzhes/ sa kha nag pa dang/ gye re mtshar pa snar phebs/ mi nyag dang gye re ba mi sha yod pas/ khams pa mi nyag yin pa 'dug bsam sku chas rnams phrogs/ mda' dbyug pa/ gri la sogs pa bsnun pas/ grub thob chen po bde sdug ro snyoms pas/ brdeg len ma bcal/ cang ma gsungs pas/ snod can du shes nas gsang mtshan la thag pa

btags/ rdo dang rdos/ de'i nub lcags ri la bkal nas bzhag sang nam langs pa dang/ 'di ni grub thob lcags zam pa yin par 'dug/ rang re rnams kyis sdig pa chen po bsags zer/ lcags ri la bkal ba phab/ thugs khro ba ci yang mi 'dug kyang/ 'gyod pa chen pos bshags pa phul bas lhag par dgyes nas/ tshe sgrub zab mo zhig byung gsung/.

29. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 101a. This episode is translated in its' entirety as "The Mystic Cloak," in Part II. The first quote is translated from the Bhutanese version of the older biography by dKon-mchog dpal-bzang, op.cit., f. 142b. /rnal 'byor pa rtul shugs spyod pa skyong pa rnams dang/ ble'u yi bem po gon pa la/. I have left the spelling mistakes as they occur in the original manuscript.

30. Oral communication from the Ven. sDe-gzhung Rinpoche.

31. Lha-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, Dad pa'i spu slong g.yo' ba, op.cit., ff. 24a-24b. /bya bral (f. 24b) smyon pa cig 'dug zer ba khyed yin nam zer ba la/ mthong tshul mi 'dra ngas ltas na khyed smyo 'dug byas/.

32. K.C. Varadachari, Alvars of South India, (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966), p. 69.

33. Lha-btsun Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, Dad pa'i spu slong g.yo' ba, op.cit., f. 35b. Alternate readings from sNa-tshogs rang-grol, The Saint of gTsang, op.cit., f. 38b, are supplied in parentheses. /nyams rtogs 'bar bas rkyen blang (blangs) nas/ zhen chags mal nas lkog (kog) langs byas/ sgrib gnyis bag chags gos phud nas/ rig pa dri med gcer bur rgyugs (sgyug)/ 'khrel (khrel) med tshogs drug lhug par gzhag/ chos brgyad rdza la rdza (gya) rdungs (brdungs) byas/ mtho dman med pa'i g.yang la 'phyongs/ nyon mongs dug lnga'i

mgo bo chag/ gzung 'dzin 'khor ba'i dran pa stor/ smyo lugs de 'dra byung 'gyur na/ rgyal po rang yang smyo na legs/.

34. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 79b. /mu ge chen po yod pa las thar pa'i rten 'brel zhig byed par 'phan yul la 'gro gsung/ lcags zam pa dpon slob bdun 'phan yul la phebs/ de ring mi su dang 'phrad kyang/ de la gang yod 'phrogs shig gsungs nas/ 'phan yul rgyal chen rtse nas byon pas/ bud med cig gis bu lon nas khal gcig blangs nas yong pa dang mjal/ nas de nga la thong gsungs pas/ yon bdag bla ma khams pa mkhyen/ nged bza' mi mang po la 'di las za rgyu med zhus kyang mo'i nas de 'phrogs/ chibs la lcag rgyab nas bros byon pas/ bud med des khams pa mi nyag mang po 'gro ba la/ ra mda' sbran nas ded pas zin/ grub thob chen po ngo ma shes par/ a mdo ba zhig yin par 'dug bsam/ bkyigs brdungs byas/ chu la bcug sku gan rkyal du bsgyel ba'i zhal du bshang ba'i bug pa bzhag nas zag rtsi 'dor ba (f. 80a) sogs byas kyang grub thob chen pos rten 'brel legs dgongs shin tu dges so/ mi nyag dpon des gyog bsam chung de tshos brdungs pa thal/ bsad pa srid snyam rta zhon nas rgyugs phyin pas/ grub thob chen po ngo shes/ rta las babs/ phyag btsal/ bla ma chen po 'o brgyal bar byung ngam zhus pas/ nga la de ring rten 'brel legs po byung nyi ma gnangs nyin nas mgo nag mi'i mu ge sangs so gsung/ bud med las phrogs pa'i nas de mi nyag dpon la bstan nas 'di nga'i grwa pa 'dra mjug la yong ba yod bskur thong gsung/ chibs la lcag bcug nas/ nga lha sar sleb pa 'gro gsung byon no/ mi nyag dpon des bud med la nas kyi skyin pa bcal nas/ ngos ma lcags zam pa'i grwa pa la bskur ba/ jo bo'i gsol lhung gi nas rnying pa dang brjes/ grub thob chen pos smon lam mdzad/.

The Jo-bo is the most holy statue in Tibet. It is a likeness of the Buddha Shākyamuni at age 12, and was brought to Tibet by the Chinese wife of the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po (617?-650). See Ferrari, op.cit., p. 86.

35. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 112b. /nga bod phyed kyis sangs rgyas dngos su mthong/ phyed kyis 'dre ru mthong ba zhig yong ba 'dug/.

36. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 157a. / dad can dge las sgrub pa tsho/ skyog gam drang ngam 'di la nyon/ drang po thams cad drang po min/ blun po'i drang po skyog po yin/ skyog po thams cad skyog po min/ mkhas pa'i skyog po drang po yin/ phan pa thams cad phan pa min/ blun po'i phan pa gnod pa yin/ gnod pa thams cad gnod pa min/ mkhas pa'i gnod pa phan pa yin/ bde ba thams cad bde ba min/ blun po'i bde ba sdug bsngal yin/ sdug bsngal thams cad sdug bsngal min/ mkhas pa'i sdug bsngal bde ba yin/.

37. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, op.cit., vol. I, p. 93. See also Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 50-51.

38. Sa-skya Paṇḍita, op.cit., f. 4b. /mang po bskyab phyir gcig gsod sogs/ las gnag rnam smin dkar na bya/, and f. 4a, /nyan thos sems can don yin yang/ 'dod chen po la ltung ba 'byung/ theg chen gzhan gyi don yin na/ 'dod chen ltung ba med ces gsungs/.

39. Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 40-41.

40. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 139b-140a. /bdag 'dzin med pa 'khrul zhig yin/ ma 'gags gsal ba longs sku yin/ sna tshogs 'char ba sprul sku yin/ 'od gsal stong pa chos sku yin/ rang sems dag pa sangs rgyas yin/ snang ba rmi lam gzugs brnyan yin/ chos rnams de ltar shes pa na/ las med las kyi 'bras bu med/ rnam smin las dang rgyu 'bras med/ myong bar byed pa'i skyes bu med/ de'i rgyu (140a) mtshan bdag 'dzin med/ dkar nag las kyi 'bras bu med/ de'i rgyu mtshan 'khrul pa med/ ma rtogs kun rdzob 'khrul snang la/ las yod las kyi 'bras bu yod/ rnam smin las dang bde sdug yod/ myong bar byed pa'i skyes bu yod/ de'i rgyu mtshan bdag 'dzin yod/ dkar nag las dang 'bras bu yod/ tha snyad

kun rdzob 'khrul pa'i ngor/ rgyu 'bras las rnams bden par zung/ byang sems snying rje che bar mdzod/ bag yod dran dang shes bzhin sten/ sdom gsum dam tshig drang por srungs/.

41. The section translated here is taken primarily from the older biography of gTsang-smyon, by Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, op.cit., ff. 21a-21b. The phrase in parentheses is from the longer, later text by sNa-tshogs rang-grol, op.cit., ff. 23b-24a. /dgung lo nyi shu rtsa lngar phebs pa dang dbon po bas phyags phyi bgyis te la stod byang rgyud nas dpal chen ri bo che'i rtsa ru phebs pa dang/ dbon po ba ngon la btang rje rin po ches rjes nas phebs tshe/ grub chen thang stong rgyal po ri bo che'i rtse na tshes bcu'i tshogs 'khor mdzad pa dang thug nas der zang thal du phebs pas/ grub chen gyi sku 'phris na shing phor shin du che ba phyi nang gnyis ka skyo mas gos pa cig chang gis bkang 'dug pa rje phyag tu bzhes nas gsol bas/ mi kun had de las shing grub chen kyang res shig spyan gcer re 'dug/ yang rje nyid kyis grub chen gyi ag tshom togs te (=tog-ste) zhal du bcug pas/ (f. 21b) a tsa tsha gsung zhing dbu khrug khrug mdzad cing 'dug pas/ rjes ji 'dra'i grub thob yang yong ba 'dug sma ra tsha ba yang mi bzod pa'i sdug skad 'don pa gsungs pas/ grub thob bzhad cing skyengs pa'i gsung gis rten 'brel legs nga la khyod kyi gos de phul gsung ba la/ rje'i zhal nas rten 'brel legs legs pa yin/ khyod mod pa 'dug pas nga la 'di blang gsung nas grub chen gyi sle bem la phyag 'jus pas/ grub chen gyi gsung nas rtul zhugs dga' rab 'dug/ (nga la yang khyod mi dgos la khyod la yang nga mi dgos pas)/ da rgyug ngas bar chad mi yong ba byed gsung ngo/. For the problematic phrase "rten 'brel legs legs pa yin/ khyod mod pa 'dug pas..." I have followed the suggestions of the Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche.

PREFACE TO THE TRANSLATIONS

During the past five hundred years several biographies of Thang-stong rgyal-po have been composed, but at the time of this writing only one of these is available. Composed in 1609 by Lo-chen 'Gyur-med bde-chen (b. 1540), a descendant of Thang-stong rgyal-po, this text is known by two names: dPal grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa kun gsal nor bu'i me long as is printed on the title page, and Grub pa'i dbang phyug chen po lcags zam pa thang stong rgyal po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar kun gsal nor bu'i me long gsar pa as it is called in the colophon. This book was reprinted in India in 1976, before which time there was no extensive biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po generally available in the western world.[1] The Nor bu'i me long is based upon original texts put together by about five questioners who recorded information given to them by Thang-stong rgyal-po in person.[2]

The most important of these earliest works was by Thang-stong's disciple dKon-mchog dpal-bzang, who was from Ngam-ring and was sent by Thang-stong to be the keeper of the bSam-'grub lha-khang which he had built at Phag-ri in 1434. dKon-mchog dpal-bzang also led a group of envoys sent by Thang-stong to Kāmata in modern day Assam.[3] A copy of a biography which he wrote, entitled bLa ma thang

stong rgyal po'i rnam thar gsal ba'i sgron me, in an dbu-can manuscript of 294 folios is now kept at the rTa-mchog nor-bu-sgang monastery in Bhutan. Through the kindness of Mr. Michael Aris, I have been able to examine the two chapters of this text which he was able to copy during his stay in Bhutan. This work was composed from the in-person statements of Thang-stong and his consort Chos-kyi sgron-me (A-sgron chos-sgron). 'Gyur-med bde-chen refers to the author of the text he relied upon as dKon-mchog bde-ba'i 'byung-gnas who was a nephew of Thang-stong and the keeper of the temple at Phag-ri. Although not conclusive, this information plus the similarities between parallel sections of the two texts would seem to indicate that dKon-mchog dpal-bzang and dKon-mchog bde-ba'i 'byung-gnas are the same person, and that the gSal ba'i sgron me is the primary source upon which 'Gyur-med bde-chen based his Nor bu'i me long. This work was the most important source for 'Gyur-med bde-chen's writings, but he also made use of a more recent biography written by one Ngag-gi dbang-phyug who was also a descendant of Thang-stong.[4] In addition, I have found mention of one other early biography entitled 'Khor ba dong sprug which was written by Thugs-sras rin-po-che, perhaps Thugs-sras Shes-rab dpal-ldan who was regent (sku-tshab) for 32 years following Thang-stong's death. 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul included a short summary of

Thang-stong's life in his work on the lives of the gTer-ston.[5] There are also several brief biographies available in the form of eulogistic verse. Kong-sprul composed a prayer to Thang-stong praising his accomplishments, and Thang-stong's disciple Nam-mkha' legs-pa wrote a short verse praise of Thang-stong's life.[6] 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po penned an inner biographical prayer (nang-gi rnam-thar) which focuses solely on Thang-stong's yogic siddhis achieved through practice of the Six Dharmas of Niguma, and he also received from Thang-stong a short verse summary of his deeds, in the form of dGongs-gter, as related to the Grub thob thugs thig.[7] None of these eulogistic works, however, are more than three or four pages in length.

The Nor bu'i me long of 'Gyur-med bde-chen is thus our only present source for detailed study of the life of Thang-stong rgyal-po. This text was written at Thang-stong's monastery of dPal Ri-bo-che in La-stod, and was apparently printed there for the first time in 1619.[8] There is a copy of this biography, unfortunately lacking a colophon, now kept in the Tibet House Library in New Delhi, which would seem to be an example of the old Ri-bo-che print. Almost two hundred years after this first Ri-bo-che edition, there was a new edition completed at the

great sDe-dge printing house in the monastery of Lhun-grub-steng which Thang-stong founded in 1446. This new sDe-dge publication was made after proofreading and correction of the original Ri-bo-che print, and a new benedictory colophon (par-byang smon-lam) was appended to the revised work. The author of this colophon was the secretary of Zhe-chen monastery, bsTan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan, who also did the editing of the new edition, and refers to himself as a subject of Sa-dbang chen-po, the sDe-dge king Kun-grub bde-dga' bzang-po (1768-1790).[9] It is a modern reproduction of this late 18th century sDe-dge edition of the Nor bu'i me long that has been used for the present work concerning Thang-stong rgyal-po.

As is the case with many sDe-dge prints, this edition is quite clear and generally free of serious spelling and grammatical errors. There are some archaic terms (brda-rnying), however, and a fair sampling of colloquial phrases and vocabulary, such as the occasional use of the first person 'am-phu in place of the normal nga or bdag. bsTan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan has helpfully added several footnotes at the time of the proofreading and printing of the new sDe-dge publication. This new edition of the Nor bu'i me long is 174 folios in length and, unlike the older gSal ba'i sgron me which was divided into 108 chapters, this text is in the annalistic style with no sections or

chapter divisions of any kind.

The teachings found in this biography of Thang-stong rgyal-po contain general ideas common to all the Buddhist schools in Tibet, but focus upon specific inner teachings in a style most often affiliated with the various bKa'-brgyud-pa schools, and the rNying-ma-pa tradition. The "Precept of Mahamudra," for instance, speaks of conceptual thoughts as being the intrinsic dynamics of dharmakaya, a distinctive bKa'-brgyud-pa mode of presenting the doctrine of Mahāmudrā. Several teachings refer to the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra tradition which is central to all the bKa'-brgyud-pa schools. Thang-stong's teachings here have obvious ties to those of Mi-la-ras-pa, both in style and content. The format of episodes such as "The Mystic Cloak" closely resemble stories such as the "Song of the Horned Staff" in Mi-la's life.[10] There is also a passage of Thang-stong rgyal-po's biography which is found almost verbatim in the life of gTsang-smyon He-ru-ka.[11] Certainly, the relationship of the various life stories of the saintly madmen of Tibetan history needs much examination.

Many of the teachings translated here follow a similar pattern of development. Often they open with a verse of invocation or an injunction to the audience to listen carefully. This is followed by a series of short and direct verses of general advice, leading to the specific

instruction in a terse form. The "Instructions to the Monks at Rong-g.yag-sde" slowly develops from general advice to more specific instruction, although presented in a much more extended and structured manner than any of the other teachings. Thang-stong also uses simile and parallel development of inner and outer symbolism, sometimes in a sarcastic manner, as in the encounter with the Chinese emperor in "A Journey to Five-Peak Mountain in China" and his reply to a rude scholar in "The Mystic Cloak." The uncompromising delivery of some of these instructions, and the use in verse of popular sources of inspiration are common themes among the mad saints of Tibet. The interior verses of simile in the "Instructions to Clear Away Obstacles" are exquisite examples of the use of native imagery in presenting esoteric teachings.

These selections of verse are very beautiful in Tibetan, and certainly suffer in a flat prose translation because of the impossibility of expressing such meaning in so few syllables in a European language.[12] Every teaching translated here was originally spoken in verse, but unlike Mi-la-ras-pa or gTsang-smyon, most of whose teachings were expressed in mystical song (mgur), I know of only five examples of <u>mgur</u> by Thang-stong rgyal-po. Two of the four <u>mgur</u> in the biography are translated here, and the remaining song "Deathlessness and Naturally Free

Mind" is found in a selection of Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud-pa songs.[13] With the sole exception of this last song, and the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma liturgy for meditation upon Avalokiteśvara, the teachings in this biography are the only known examples of verse composed by Thang-stong rgyal-po.[14]

The stanzaic structure and rhythm of these verses vary greatly, but certain characteristics can be briefly outlined. All of the verse of Thang-stong rgyal-po is composed in seven or more syllables, a characteristic of the later form of Tibetan prosody following the introduction of Buddhism in Tibet.[15] The songs of the Indian Mahāsiddhas were translated into Tibetan in seven-syllable lines, of three and a half trochées, and the songs of Mi-la-ras-pa often follow this form. Thang-stong's verse is mostly trochaic in rhythm, although it is often very irregular with verses of seven, eight, nine, and ten syllables sometimes found in a single teaching.[16] The most regular trochaic form is of three and a half feet or seven syllables, but one teaching is composed solely of four and a half-foot nine-syllable trochaic verse arranged in five-line stanzas.[17] There is also ample use of the eight-syllable verse with a non-accented monosyllabic word in an extra metrical position preceeding the line.[18] This word is often the logical subject of the line, as for

example in sections of "A Reminder about Death," and also in the opening lines of "Instructions to Clear Away Obstacles." Thang-stong uses one-line injunctions ending in imperative verbs quite often, but the number of syllables and the structure of stanzas is changed with bewildering frequency. His verse is often exceedingly difficult to analyze through traditional methods of scansion. An in-depth study of it as a whole is necessary before any final conclusions can be reached.

The sections of the Nor bu'i me long which have been selected for translation represent only about 22 folios of the work, although the extemporaneous religious instructions included in these translations form a majority of the important teachings recorded in the biography. These selections have been chosen in order to convey both the flavor of Thang-stong rgyal-po's teaching style, and to present episodes of his life which form teachings in themselves. I have constructed titles for the episodes from the biography, although there were none in Tibetan. Because of the unique nature of these precepts, they are extremely important for understanding the intent of Thang-stong rgyal-po's teachings, which have in general been passed down to the present in codified ritual forms. I have made no attempt to provide definitive commentary to these instructions and stories, which would be beyond the

scope of the present thesis, but have annotated the translations to facilitate the reader's understanding. Duplication of the translated portions of the published Tibetan text has been provided for easy reference in Appendix A.

Notes

1. Before the publication of this text, I was able to use a microfilm copy of the same edition which was acquired by Mr. E.G. Smith from the library of Prof. R.A. Stein in Paris. This microfilm is in the uncatalogued section of the University of Washington East Asia Library microfilm collection.

2. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 3a.

3. Ibid., ff. 86b, and 152b-153a.

4. Ibid., f. 173a. See note #17, Chapter 1, Part I.

5. Zhu chen Tshul khrims rin chen gyi gsan yig, (D. rGyal-mtshan, Dehra Dun, 1970), vol. 1, p. 392. Kong-sprul, Rin chen gter mdzod, vol. 1, op.cit., p. 125a.

6, Kong-sprul's prayer, entitled Grub chen thang stong rgyal-po la gsol ba 'debs pa grub pa'i sgra dbyangs is found on pp. 726-729 of the gDams ngag mdzod, vol. 8, op.cit. The eulogy by Nam-mkha' legs-pa, to whom Thang-stong first transmitted the teachings which have become known as the Thang stong snyan brgyud, is entitled Grub chen thang stong rgyal po'i rnam thar gcod yul nyams bzhes, and is found on pp. 43-47 of The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po, vol. 1, op.cit.

7. mKhyen-brtse's praise in the form of a vajra-song entitled Grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa la bsngags pa rdo rje'i thol glu rig pa 'dzin pa'i me tog is on pp. 55-57 of his Collected Songs of Mystical Realization, (N. Gyaltsan, Nyingmapa Lama's College, Dehra Dun, 1971). The short verse summary he

received as dgongs-gter is on pp. 450-453 of the sGrub thabs snying po skor lgna section of the Grub thob thugs tig contained in vol. 4 of Kong-sprul's Rin chen gter mdzod, op.cit.

8. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 173a. The work was composed under the patronage of the king Nam-mkha' tshe-dbang phun-tshogs. A king of Byang Ngam-ring by this name is mentioned by Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., p. 689. He lived around the turn of the 17th century.

9. Smyugs-'dzin bsTan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan, or Zhe-chen drung-yig-pa, as he refers to himself in the colophon of the Nor bu'i me long, is also mentioned in the colophon to the sDe dge'i rgyal rabs as Drung yig dam-pa bsTan-'dzin rgyal-mtshan. For information on the sDe-dge king Sa-dbang Kun-grub bde-dga' bzang-po, see the translation of this text by Josef Kolmaš, A Geneology of the Kings of Derge (sDe-dge'i rgyal rabs), (Academia, Prague, 1968), pp. 41-42.

10. See Lama Kunga and Brian Cutillo, Drinking the Mountain Stream, op.cit., pp. 93-96 for a translation of the "Song of the Horned Staff."

11. Whereas the episodes recorded in both gTsang-smyon's biography and that of Thang-stong rgyal-po have quite different conclusions, the dialogue and setting is essentially identical. See 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 92b, and rGod-tshang ras-pa, Life of the Saint of gTsang, op.cit., f. 15b.

12. R.A. Stein in his Tibetan Civilization, op.cit., pp. 252-253, addresses these problems at some length.

13. Kong-sprul, gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, p. 814.

14. It must be remembered that none of the writings in the Thang stong snyan brgyud may be attributed to Thang-stong rgyal-po himself. There are many difficulties in analyzing this large collection of esoteric techniques. It is probable that the Ril bu dkar dmar versified medical text was written by Thang-stong rgyal-po. See note #51 of Chapter 1.

15. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, op.cit., pp. 259-260, and Barde au Tibet, op.cit., p. 501. The monograph "Le vers Tibetain," by Pavel Poucha in the Archiv Orientalni, (XVIII, 4, 1950), pp. 188-235, and (XXII, 4, 1954), pp.563-585 is especially applicable to this subject.

16. The use of the term "trochée" when discussing Tibetan verse must be qualified with the understanding that the Tibetan "trochée" is always based on stress and never on quantity. See the excellent article by J. Vekerdi, "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody," in the Acta Orientalia Hungrica, II, 2-3, pp. 221-234, (Budapest, 1952).

Perhaps the most irregular verses by Thang-stong rgyal-po are found in the vajra-song (rdo rje'i mgur) translated here as "A Trading Trip to sKyid-grong." 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 20a-23a.

17. Translated here as "Instructions to the Monks at Rong-g.yag-sde." 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 125a-127b.

18. Stein, Barde au Tibet, op.cit., pp. 501-504.

A Trading Trip to sKyid-grong[1]

Once the Mahāsiddha joined company with many people of glorious Rin-chen-sdings who were going to trade in sKyid-grong, and set off with his merchandise loaded on two donkeys. When they reached the upper steppes of Grwa-thang at the foot of Kha and Bya passes from which it takes a day to reach mNga-ris rdzong-kha, it snowed to the height of a man. For thirteen days men and beasts shuddered amidst the snow, afflicted with deadly misery. The Mahāsiddha sat on a square protuberance on a high ridge. Not feeling cold for even an instant, he observed the sevenfold body posture of Vairocana, and around him for a full twelve yards the snow melted and steam rose.[2]

To save the lives of the men and beasts, he then displayed three (f.20b) physical emanations. One stayed at the traders' camp, one went to pray in front of the Jo-bo, and one went from Thang-po-che to search for grass and wood.[3] He distributed whatever grass and wood they wanted, and saved their lives, but not recognizing the signs of his perfection, they just said, "Crazy brTson-'grus is really well off (ca-ga-che)."

Then the road became open, and they went to sKyid-grong. He said to his companions, "It will be difficult for us to attain a precious human body again and again,

and since we've come from far away and are visiting a naturally formed statue of the Exalted One such as this, we should make the most of our wealth. It would be best for us to offer butter lamps, do circumambulations, and perform well the prayers which are of benefit now and in future lives."

They replied, "The last days were bad, and our merchandise was severely damaged. After offering butter lamps we wouldn't have any trade profit. You don't have to take care of a family. If you have that much faith, offer butter lamps and make circumambulations!"

He thought, "Fools who don't understand karma and result take urging towards virtue as harmful. Each time they bring things home for their families, they don't think for even an instant of the needs of others. To make my own ephemeral wealth useful, I will buy butter with what merchandise I have, offer butter lamps, and pray for the benefit of the doctrine and living beings. While they linger to trade, I should diligently perform circumambulations."

He bought butter with his merchandise, obtained a huge amount of butter lamps, and offered them. He performed single-minded circumambulations and prayers, and on the morning of the fourth day (f.21a) came to the Jo-bo image to request blessings. He touched his head to

OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ

You will bring contentious beings to happiness.

OṂ MAṆI PADME HŪṂ"

Yet again he circumambulated the Jo-bo, and single-mindedly recited maṇis. He realized that through the connection (rten-'brel) with his extremely clear visualization of the three carry-overs, his lineage and disciples would accomplish the deeds of the Conquerors on a vast scale through reliance upon the Six Syllables of (enlightened) speech.[6]

Eleven days had then gone by, and the traders finished trading and said, "Are you going too?"

"I'm going," he replied, and came leading two empty donkeys. His companions (f.21b) said, "They say Crazy brTson-'grus is insane, and it's true. You can't go to the sKyid-grong area, and return with empty donkeys. Put our loads on your two donkeys, give each a bunch of iron."

He replied, "You're worn out from losing sleep over the gain or loss of each measure. We came to trade, and you have greater loads of merchandise. But I, Crazy brTson-'grus, have greater trade profits!" Then he sang a song about this way of profiting in trade.

"May the Lord of Dharma, the Lama who
embodies all sources of refuge,

The Triple Gem, infallible sources of refuge,

And Exalted Avalokiteśvara who guides the six kinds of living beings,

Gaze with compassion on the sentient beings of this degenerate, evil time.

Clever men, listen to this song of mine!

You may gather wealth, but you can't be sure you'll keep it.

You may even keep it, but you can't be sure you'll enjoy it.

Don't gather sins for the sake of wealth!

The great and powerful merchant Avalokiteśvara dwells in sKyid-grong of Mang-yul,

A supreme bazaar and holy place, the source (for fulfillment) of all desires.

He has the Seven Jewels of the Exalted Ones spread out as merchandise.[7]

Many want these, but there are few purchasers.

I dealt in this, the trade share of a madman.

I paid the price of single-minded faith and devotion.

I acquired the precious jewel of inexhaustible contentment.

What worldly and illusory objects of wealth I had,

I understood as deceptive, and exchanged for everlasting treasure.

My friends, I didn't lose in trade, I gained.

My trade profit is permanent, and my mind at ease.

The merchant, Mind as perfect buddhahood, dwells in the great bazaar of the unchanging Ālaya.[8] (f.22a)

He has the jewel of emptiness and compassion laid out as merchandise.

Many want this, but it is difficult to obtain.

I dealt in that, the trade share of Crazy brTson-'grus.

I paid the price of non-objectifying compassion (dmigs-pa med-pa'i snying-rje).

I acquired the precious jewel of inexhaustible enlightened activity.

What enjoyment of the five simultaneous poisons I had,[9]

I exchanged for that jewel of emptiness and clarity, free from grasping.

My friends, I didn't lose in trade, I gained.

My trade profit is permanent, and I'm happy.

The merchant, Great Compassion to benefit others,

Dwells in the great bazaar of the viruous three doors.[10]

He has the jewel of the ten virtues spread out as merchandise.[11]

There are many who strive for this, but few attain it.

I dealt in this, the trade share of Crazy brTson-'grus.

I paid the price of unattached love.

I acquired the precious jewel of the five wisdoms.[12]

That sterile wealth which produces

the misery of the three poisons,[13]

I exchanged for that jewel of the spontaneous Trikāya.[14]

My friends, I didn't lose in trade, I gained.

My trade profit is for all lives, and my mind at ease.

I'm an aimless (gtad-med) madman, and afraid of wandering in boundless saṃsāra,

I realized the root of confusion, this clinging to a self, to be harmful, and cast it far away.

I acquired the jewel which provides for all needs and desires.

I, the helmsman who acquired it will always be at ease.

It is a mistake to return empty-handed, the merchandise of your birth spent.

Very few recognize true wealth.

Thus he sang a vajra song, and in addition spoke to his trading companions concerning the manner in which pleasant and miserable results come from virtuous and sinful causes. (f.22b) Moreover, he said to them,

"You are contemptuous of (the relationship) of sin and misery, and strive for wealth, but it is very difficult to obtain if you lack the fruit of generosity. The wealth you've obtained you disperse on three things, your own food, clothing, and drink, and for the sake of manifesting your arrogance in this world. Even if you aren't capable of strong virtue now, when you get up and when you go to sleep, imagine that you do three prostrations to the Triple Gem, and recite five hundred maṇis without interruption. When a beggar appears at your door, don't turn him away with an empty mouth. Offer to the Triple Gem a bit of whatever you eat and drink, and give a piece of food to your dog. This is cumulative virtue, so apply yourselves without fail."

Nevertheless, the time for their training hadn't come, so without devotion or clear perception, they replied, "He speaks well for one who came to sKyid-grong and then led back empty donkeys with no merchandise loaded on them."

The Mahāsiddha thought, "These fools who have faith in wealth don't understand the Dharma even when it is explained to them. I'll have to perform a miracle."

On the morning when the traders departed from rDzong-kha, he magically produced four good loads of conch shell, indigo, molasses, and cotton. Loading them on his two

donkeys, he started off.

They all said, "How is it possible that Crazy brTson-'grus, this believer in wealth, was offering butter lamps and making circumambulations? While we were occupied in trading, he bribed the innkeeper, engaged in smuggling, and the loads were delivered to rDzong-kha. Now, after going to trade together, we have nothing except iron, but Crazy brTson-'grus (f.23a) has such things as indigo, conch shell, molasses, and cotton goods. Our families will complain about our trading, and the neighbors will probably ridicule us."

They were extremely miserable, and he said, "First you suffered when I didn't have valuables, and now you wear yourselves out with this much suffering when I do have valuables. So allright, I won't take my valuables home," and he made the four loads disappear.

When he went home, his father and brothers said, "He is a rotten one (mi-rul) to have completely wasted our wealth."

They chastized him, but his mother said, "It is good that brTson-'grus, a Friend of Virtue, used the merchandise to offer butter lamps to the Exalted One."

****

The Five Ḍākinīs

and

A Pilgrimage to Lhasa[15]

Once he stayed practicing in secret (gsang-spyod) at the foot of gTsang-rgyas-sde plain, and many girls of human form appeared to him again and again singing songs and dancing.[16] Foremost among them were the five white, yellow, red, blue, and green wisdom-ḍākinīs at whom one never tires of looking, adorned with various bone and jewel ornaments and silk garments. They were surrounded by a retinue of samaya and flesh-eating ḍākinīs who filled the sky playing hand-drums and bells, and were accompanied by sweet fragrances filling the area and various sounds of music. The leading white one was tranquil, the yellow one was prosperous, the red one was powerful, and the blue one was terrible. In the center the green Buddha-family ḍākinī said,[17] "We five sisters will accomplish for you, a great emanated being, (f.38a) whichever of the four activities you require."

All the ḍākinīs combined their voices as one, and bestowed these five names in sweet melodious song:

"We five girls gathered here will
each give a name suitable in meaning

To this most astonishing man living on the rGyas-sde plain.

On a vast and farflung plain, the yogi who realizes emptiness lives like a fearless king.

Therefore let him be named "King of the Empty Plain" (Thang-stong rgyal-po).

In the valley of equality devoid of elaboration (mnyam-nyid spros-bral), is a madman free of rejection and acceptance, one who views appearances and emptiness as indivisible.

Let him be named "Madman of the Empty Valley" (Lung-stong smyon-pa).

Whatever food and drink of a hundred flavors or dirty vomit there might be,

He is an alchemist beyond their benefit and harm.

Let him be named "The Alchemic Transmutor of Foods" (zas-rnams bcud-len mkhan).

He realizes whatever varied conditions there might be are like a dream or an echo,

And overpowering the eight worldly attitudes, treats them as of equal flavor.[18]

Let him be named "He to Whom Conditions are of Equal Flavor" (rkyen-rnams ro-snyoms mkhan).

He knowns without aversion from or reliance upon them,

That each and every aspect of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa appear, but are like the moon reflected in water.

Let him be named "He Who is Devoid of Aversion from or Reliance on Dharmas" (chos-rnams skyags-gtad med-pa).

To increase measureless activities, peerless yogi,

The time has now come to lead beings onto the plain of joy."

Thus the five wisdom-ḍākinīs bestowed five names suitable in meaning, and in an instant, magically went home to U-rgyan, land of the ḍākinīs. (f.38b). Thereafter he was known everywhere by the name "Thang-stong rgyal-po (King of the Empty Plain), the master who has reached the third bhūmi."[19]

Then the Mahāsiddha went to Gram-pa-rgyang, and extracted his own dharma-inheritance, the <u>Thugs sgrub yang gsang bla na med pa'i chos skor</u>, from concealment

in the Lha-kang dmar-po.[20]

When he traveled to Jo-nang, the practitioners were performing the ritual for realization (sgrub-mchod) of Dus-'khor (Kālacakra). One practitioner who had good experience in meditation actually saw the Mahāsiddha as Kun-mkhyen Dol-po-pa, offered prostrations, and placed (Thang-stong's) feet upon the crown of his head.[21]

He slept on the teaching throne that night, and when the steward came in the next day carrying the steps (for the throne), he said, "Who put this lunatic on the teaching throne?" beat him with his staff, and threw him off.

He circumambulated the great stūpa for three days and then slept one night amidst the waves under the bridge. In the morning people came to get water and said, "Oh, this stupid madman. Poor thing (smyon-pa gu-pa 'di snying-rje)!"

During that time the Mahāsiddha was reciting 200 million maṇis, and until he finished, he did not engage in ordinary talk except when someone requested dharma teachings. He did not search for food or clothing other than what there was, nor did he cross the thresholds of doors other than those of lamas' residences and temples. On this occasion he vowed never to give up the good of the doctrine and living beings.

At that time he stayed for seven months in Jo-nang under a boulder shaped like a garuda with outstretched wings. On one occasion at the first break of dawn, noble sGrol-ma (Tārā) appeared in the sky in front of the Mahāsiddha. In the midst of rainbow light with a form at (f.39a) which one would never tire of looking, she said this:

> "Kye! Fortunate son of good family, without clinging to the flavor of the elixir of samādhi,
>
> Build! Build! Build for the benefit of living beings!
>
> Go swiftly to the Jo-bo Shākya in Lhasa, and quickly build an iron bridge upon which to effortlessly cross the turbulent river and the cascading waves![22]
>
> Pray to discipline the corrupt barbarians in the south-east of Tibet, the land of snow!
>
> The time has now come for you to aid living beings,
>
> So accept the great responsibility to benefit and delight beings with
>
> Shrines of the form, speech, and mind

of the Conquerors and their sons, and
with ferries and iron bridges."

Thus she spoke, and passed on like a cloud in the sky.

He traveled from Jo-nang to Bo-dong bya-rgod-gshongs, and made prostrations and circumambulations around the Jo-bo. He offered gtor-ma to the rNam-sras mdung-dmar-can, and when he went to take the old gtor food away, it had changed into the nature of the five precious substances.[23]

It was said that in sPyi-bo-lhas there lived a siddha who could fly like a bird (grub-thob bya 'phur-ba), and he realized it was mTshan-ldan Nam-mkha'i rnal-'byor, the guru of his lama. At dawn, he decided to go and ask for blessings. (Meanwhile,) in a state of clear light, the lama beheld a vision of the master yogi Tillipa, moving through space adorned with graveyard garments, playing a hand-drum and bell, and exclaiming the word "Hūṃ."[24] Shortly after sunrise the Mahāsiddha arrived, and mTshan-ldan Nam-mkha'i rnal-'byor said, "What name are you called by?"

"I am called Thang-stong rgyal-po. (f.39b) Have favorable signs not appeared to you?" he replied.

"Extremely favorable signs have appeared. It seems you are Tillipa," he exclaimed, and they requested dharma

from each other.

From Bo-dong the Mahāsiddha traveled to Sha-ba. At the top of the pass of sTag-la, he met about seven thousand people making the great pilgrimage from Sa-skya to Lhasa, and joined company with the pilgrims. Sometimes he urged them to take refuge and recite maṇis, sometimes ha taught dharma, and sometimes he sang songs and performed religious dances (chos-bro).

The pilgrims said, "This deranged mendicant (bya-bral smyon-pa) certainly isn't an ordinary person. We feel content simply looking at him, and our passions and sufferings become naturally pacified. When we look at his bed at night, it becomes a mass of light."

He went to sNar-thang, and said to the noble Sthavira Angirāja who was sitting in the midst of beggars,[25] "You must give me dharma."

"A beggar has nothing to teach," he replied.

He prayed for him to teach by all means, and (Angirāja) said, "Let's go into seclusion."

They went, and he bestowed in one session the explanation of the Prajñāpāramitā in eight thousand stanzas.[26]

The next day he went to the market of mGur-mo with the large group of pilgrims. The pilgrims circumambulated Zha-lu and traveled on. The Mahāsiddha performed the seven-branch offering to sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara)

and made extensive prayers for the benefit of the doctrine and living beings.[27] He spent the night there in front of the teaching throne, and in the sky in front of him appeared a crystal colored youth who said this:

> "You are an individual endowed with the marks (f.40a), a yogi with perfect realization.
>
> You will meet the wisdom-ḍākinī of dharmakāya, who will teach you dharma and give you a prophecy in order to endow you with confidence in equal flavor (ro-snyoms gdeng).
>
> Remain in this place for three days."

Thus the crystal colored youth spoke, and departed like a rainbow dissolving.

The next day when he was circumambulating lCags-ri, he went to 'Obs-kha in the northern direction. There was a girl about fifteen years old reciting the brTag pa gnyis pa'i rgyud, and under her loom was placed a skull cup filled with beer and covered with a saucer.[28] He saw that she was weaving in a state of mind free of discursivity (sems spros-bral gyi ngang), and thought, "Last night that crystal colored youth prophesied that I would

meet with a wisdom-ḍākinī, and this is the one. I should ask for a dharma connection (chos-'brel)."

There before her, he said, "I request a dharma connection."

The girl replied, "I have stayed in the great gathering places of men such as Lhasa, bSam-yas, Khra-'brug, Zha-lu, sNar-thang, Sa-skya, and mNga'-ris gung-thang, in order to give siddhis to fortunate yogis.[29] No one but you has recognized me. To request the profound dharma of the secret Tantras, it is necessary to have a vast gaṇacakra.[30] You should arrange one!"

The Mahāsiddha requested the complete four-fold initiation into the maṇḍala of the form, speech, and mind of rDo-rje rnal-'byor-ma (Vajrayoginī), and went to search for the sacramental substances (dam-tshig gi rdzas).[31] In the center of 'Obs there was the corpse of a horse that had been ripped apart by three dogs, with its' entrails torn out. He cut them up, and carrying the five kinds of meat from the inside of the horse corpse, and the head in the folds of his cloak (f.40b), he arranged the gaṇacakra.[32]

In the instant it takes to snap the fingers three times, the girl became like the peak of Padma-rāga enveloped with the brilliance of the sun, adorned with the

five mudrās, and holding a curved knife and skull cup.[33] She bestowed the four initiations of great bliss simultaneously, and performed the gaṇacakra. She gave him a detailed explication of equal flavor, and then spoke:

> "Kye! Yogi! Overcome (thog-rdzis) unwanted conditions! All filthy food becomes elixir, and you will find conceptual thoughts (rnam-rtog) to be naturally free, dharmakāya."

Noble mKha'-spyod-ma (Khecarī) then became a mass of light and dissolved into the Mahāsiddha, greatly enhancing (bogs-che-ba) his experience of equal flavor.[34]

On another occasion he was circumambulating the Thugs-rje chen-po of Zha-lu, and single-mindedly reciting the six-syllable mantra.[35] He came to the spot where a knowledgeable man (rtogs-ldan) leading a monkey, and his two wives had each pitched their tents.

He asked them, "Where have you come from? For what reason do you wander the land?"

"I am the lama of a great monastery. I know much dharma, but had sexual intercourse (lus-'brel) with these two women. I wander the land in shame," he answered.

"What are you doing leading this monkey?" he asked.

"It's the way I seek food," he replied.

The Mahāsiddha said, "You must teach me dharma."

He replied, "Ask the two of them."

He asked, and they said, "First the lama must give to you. Then come."

Again he asked the lama who said, "If you need a dharma connection, stay three days."

He replied, "Very well, I will stay."

That night the lama bestowed upon him the initiation of glorious dGyes-pa rdo-rje (Hevajra), together with the scriptural reading (lung) of the rGyud gsum.[36] The next night, one woman bestowed upon him the initiation of rDo-rje rnal-'byor-ma (Vajrayoginī), and the scriptural reading of the Phag mo mngon byung gi rgyud.[37] (f.41a) The last night one yoginī bestowed upon him the initiation of bDag-med lha-mo bco-lgna, and the initiations and scriptural readings of sPyan-ras-gzigs 'jigs-pa brgyad-skyob, 'Khor-ba dong-sprugs, Yid-bzhin nor-bu, and Gar-gyi dbang-phyug.[38]

The father and mothers sat in one spot, and while they were performing a vast gaṇacakra, he devotedly prostrated, offered a maṇḍala, and prayed for them to bestow the four initiations. The great master yogi himself became glorious Kye rdo-rje (Hevajra), the two ladies became rDo-rje phag-mo (Vajravārāhī) and bDag-med-ma (Nairātmyā), and with the vajra wisdom of form, speech, and mind, they directly conferred the initiations.

From Zha-lu he went magically to Ngur-smrig in the lower valley of Rong-chen and stayed there for three days. When he went to visit the shrines in the sGrol-ma (Tārā) temple, a voice sounding like hand cymbals came forth from the image, and prophesied:[39]

> "At the border of India and Tibet there is a large area which revels in sin alone.
>
> It stretches from kLo-kha-khra, Shar-mon, Bum-thang, La-yag lo-gsum, and Pa-gro in Lho (Bhutan) down to the country of the sinful king of Kāmata (Assam).
>
> You are a person who, through the power of your prayers, should display compassion skillful in means, and magical forms in whatever way necessary to discipline them.
>
> By constructing monasteries, iron bridges, and shrines of form, speech, and mind,
>
> You must cause the Buddhist doctrine to shine like the sun in the dark and sinful land!"

Traveling from Ngur-smrig, in about half a day he caught up to the large group of pilgrims between the palace and the sMal-lcags of Lhasa (f.41b), the sphere of dharma.[40] By just seeing the golden spires and pagoda roofs of the Ra-sa 'phrul-snang temples, he was overcome by his feelings and rushed forward. Unhindered by the jeweled gates, iron doors, and so forth, he went directly in front of the Jo-bo.[41] Tossing a flower made from a dram of gold at the Jo-bo, he requested blessings. The vast self-aware wisdom (rang-rig ye-shes chen-po) of the Jo-bo and his mind became mixed together as one, and his flesh and blood body fell down unconscious. The iron doors of the main floor opened, and the steward came inside and exclaimed, "A person has died here! When I went out of the temple there was no person or corpse here at all."

At that time several of the large group of pilgrims who had arrived said, "That deranged mendicant made it to the Jo-bo and died, but it's a good place to die ('chi-sa legs)."

From the heart of the precious Jo-bo, five light rays shone and were absorbed into the Mahāsiddha's body. He suddenly lept up, and saying, "Pray bless me to be able to bring infinite trainees to maturation and liberation," made countless prostrations.

The voice of the Jo-bo, sweet like the melody of a four-stringed vīṇā (pi-wang), sounded forth saying this:

> "You are an agent of all the Conquerors of the three times,
> A sublime individual, the mind emanation of Padmasambhava.
> Your fame will envelop all the ten directions, and your trainees will spread in this range of snowy peaks.
> To establish these infinite trainees in joy, remember your previous prayers,
> And bring benefit and joy to the Land of Snow with shrines of form, speech, and mind, ferries, and iron bridges." (f.42a)

Thus through prophecy he was urged towards the good of living beings.

At that time the Mahāsiddha thought, "I should examine what the length of my life will be through the omen (rten-'brel) of how long a butter lamp lasts."

He begged butter from all the residents and foreigners of Lhasa, and one person gave him a fistful of butter. He offered it in a butter lamp, and when it lasted for a month and eighteen days, everyone was astonished.

****

Advice to Fishermen at Yar-'brog

and

Instructions to Monks at Rong-g.yag-sde[42]

At the great lake of Yar-'brog the Māhasiddha saw fishermen killing many fish and tearing out their entrails. There was born in him great compassion for the agony experienced by the fish and the causes of unbearable suffering being accumulated by the fishermen. He prayed to exalted sPyan-ras-gzigs (Avalokiteśvara), and through the compassion of the Exalted One and the blessings of the Mahāsiddha the fishermen's legs became numb and their arms stiffened. Some became depressed about their sinful actions, and some began to feel nauseous. The fishermen abandoned the remainder of their sinful work and gathered in one place.

"Each of us is just piling up sins during this brief time in which we have obtained human bodies," they said. "We are terrified of being born next time in the evil realms. It would be best for us to abandon sin and practice virtue, according to the lama's teachings."

The Mahāsiddha spoke this precept, once more urging the fishermen towards dharma.

"Listen, sinful fishermen!

There is no sin greater than the taking of life. (f.124b)

Among the ten non-virtues it is the worst perverted view (log-lta).

Call him 'a clever man' (grung-po) who abandons sin and cultivates virtue.

It is action which will benefit him.

He who has eyes does not leap into an abyss, fishermen.

If you wish for contentment in this life and happiness in the next,

Keep in mind these things that I say!

Your homeland is the prison of māra.[43] Don't increase your obsession, leave it behind.

Your spouse (gtan-grogs) is saṃsāra's tether. Don't increase your desire, meditate alone.

Children are the upholders of the transmission of sin (sdig-pa'i rgyud-'dzin).

You can be happy if free from the misery of rearing them.

Food and wealth are illusory enticements.

If you don't accumulate them, your body
and mind can be at ease.

A mendicant (bya-btang) wanders the
land. If he acts according to dharma,
he accomplishes great benefit.

In tattered garments (dug-po hrul-ba),
he is without enemies.

If free from shame and hypocrisy,
he is happy.

The illusory body is a bubble of
flesh and blood. While you have the
freedom, apply yourself to virtue.

Praise and honor are echoes in space.
Delusory phenomena (bden-med snang-ba)
are empty by nature.

Meditate that the manifest universe,
this perishable world, is a heavenly palace
without impure mountains and streams.

Meditate that living creatures are
divine yidams, and the ordinary beings
of the six kinds are deities.[44]

Meditate that each and every specific
sound is the sound of the mantra, resounding
yet empty.

Other than that I have nothing of
profound import to say.
Today you should confess with
pure remorse!"

These words caused devotion and faith to be born in the fishermen. They offered him their fish-hooks and fish-knives and asked for his blessings. Seven fishermen followed him as attendants, and those who lived in the area took an oath not to kill fish, and to pay respects to the clergy (ser-phyag 'bul-ba).

Then he went to sNye-mo. (f.125a) The spirit lord of the area (gzhi-bdag), short of stature but very stout, displayed various magical skills, offered seven loads of ground azurite (mthing-zhun), and said, "Lama, here is my first offering for your vast and lofty projects of virtue on dPal Ri-bo-che in La-stod."[45] He prostrated, made circumambulations, and disappeared.

At Rong-g.yag-sde the Mahāsiddha then taught sMyung-gnas to about one hundred people.[46] Three Jo-gdan monks said, "You lay people are idiots (klad-pa chung). You prostrate to that fake mendicant (bya-bral-ba zog-po), but he has no dharma to teach."

One person replied, "If lama Thang-stong rgyal-po, famed in India and Tibet, has no dharma to teach, what

lama in India, Tibet, or Mongolia can we rely upon?"

The Mahāsiddha said, "You worldly people should venerate all who enter the door of the doctrine. In particular, you should venerate those who uphold the tradition of the great paṇḍit Shākya-śrī."[47]

An elder Jo-gdan monk said, "To those gathered here, led by us four clerical brothers, please bestow a dharma connection composed in verse."

This he gave:

"NAMO LOKESHWARĀYA[48]

If you fortunate men and women gathered here sincerely wish to practice the excellent dharma,

Now that you have gained a precious human body with freedoms and endowments difficult to attain as shown by simile and characteristics,[49]

You must apply yourselves to learning, reflection, and meditation, fortunate ones!

Not wasting this unique find of the freedoms and endowments which will be difficult to come by later,

Think about the impermanence and

death of all composite things ('dus-byas) which like lightning or a (f.125b) cloud, have not the least guarantee of enduring, fortunate ones!

Close relatives, friends, and so on, the deceiving companions of this life,

Are masters who teach the eight wordly attitudes, guides who lead you into the triple universe of saṃsāra.[50]

Meditate alone, without your companions, fortunate ones!

Castles which are built, wealth which is accumulated, and so on,

Food and possessions, these enjoyable things are the root from which the three poisonous passions grow, the weapon which cuts the vital artery of liberation.[51]

Don't accumulate wealth, fortunate ones!

Such bustling places as towns and monasteries, all these homes of careless behavior, bring forth jealousy, attachment, and hatred,

And are nooses which bind you in the triple universe of saṃsāra.

Stick to a secluded hermitage, fortunate ones!

Your kind parents through beginningless time have been constantly roasted by the flames of hell;

They have been tortured by the pain of such intense sufferings as hunger, thirst, murder, birth, old age, sickness, and death.

Think about the miseries of samsara, fortunate ones!

The result of great, medium, and small non-virtuous action will be birth in the three evil realms,

And the result of great, medium, and small tainted virtue will be birth in the three pleasant realms.[52]

Think about the infallibility (bslu-med) of cause and effect, fortunate ones!

The result of great, medium, and small untainted action (f.126a) will be attainment of the three nirvāṇas,[53]

And after escape from the sufferings of the triple universe of saṃsāra, the

final acquisition is omniscient buddhahood.

Take special heed of virtue,
fortunate ones!

These sentient beings wandering in
saṃsāra have acted for self-benefit from
beginningless time,

And by the evil karma they have
accumulated for their own sakes, they
have fallen into saṃsāra and experience
suffering.

Therefore develop supreme bodhicitta,
fortunate ones!

This egotism which holds the self
so dear (bdag-nyid gces-par 'dzin-pa)
has bound you in the chains of saṃsāra
from beginningless time,

And you are tortured by the intense
pain of karma and passions.

Abandon now the cherishing of self,
and cherish others, fortunate ones!

If another wrongly harms you, don't
repay the injury in an angry manner.

Understanding him to be a friend who
is teaching you patience,

Humbly repay injury with benefits
such as gifts and praises, fortunate ones!

Take on the illness and suffering
of all sentient beings who have been your
kind parents, send forth to your mother
your virtue and joy,

And with such continual meditations
on both taking and sending, constantly
develop your thoughts and actions (bsam-sbyor),
fortunate ones![54]

For protection from the fears of
the six realms of saṃsāra, do not hope
for a guardian among worldly deities.

Take refuge with respectful body,
speech, and mind in the Triple Gem,
infallible sources of refuge, (f.126b)
and place yourself under their protection,
fortunate ones!

Whichever of the three virtues of
learning, reflection, and meditation you
perform, never perform them for your own
benefit.

Having understood that phenomena are
without own being (rang-bzhin med-pa),

develop both aspects of bodhicitta so that all creatures may achieve the joy of liberation, fortunate ones![55]

These four continents and Mt. Meru adorned with the sun and moon,

The five gratifications, the seven riches, and so forth,

Your body and enjoyments, whatever roots of virtue you have,

Offer with faith, resolve, and respect to the Triple Gem for the benefit of beings, fortunate ones![56]

In the presence of the abbot and master, you promised to accept the vows of pratimokṣa, bohisattva, and the root and branch commitments of the mantrayāna.[57]

Even so, infractions of these three vows due to the power of the passions, should be confessed with pure remorse, fortunate ones!

Once you have meditated that your body has become the radiant form of a yidam such as bDe-mchog,

Through the permanent endowment of

the three carry-overs, know all of what appears as divine, and give up your ordinary concepts (tha-mal rnam-rtog), fortunate ones![58]

In the palace of the circle of great bliss on the crown of your head is the form of the glorious lama

Who embodies all lamas, yidams, buddhas, bodhisattvas, and so forth.[59]

Radiant in form and never apart from you, pray to him single-mindedly, fortunate ones!

The root from which all faults arise is this root of (f.127a) grasping at a self (bdag-tu 'dzin-pa).

The so-called 'self,' not established in reality, is an imputation which fabricates everything (thams-cad rtog-pa'i sgro-btags).

Therefore you must vanquish the demon ('gong-po) of grasping at a self, fortunate ones!

Whatever phenomena appear as the objects (yul) of the six aggregates (of cognition),

Are the bewildered projections
('khrul-pa'i snang-ba) of your mind,
just like the appearance of objects
in a dream.[60]

Thus once you know that although
they appear they are without own being,

You should quit holding them to be
real by nature (ngo-bo bden-'dzin),
fortunate ones!

All of what appears is your own
mind (rang gi sems), and mind itself
(sems-nyid) is unborn from the beginning.

It is therefore a state of Mahāmudrā,
with neither basis nor root (gzhi-med
rtsa-bral),

The path of great Mādhyamika free
of eternalism and nihilism (rtag-chad
bral-ba),[61]

The ultimate state (de-nyid ngang)
in which you should settle, fortunate
ones!

Whatever joy or misery, benefit or
harm, praise or blame occurs, it is a
bewildering apparition ('khrul-pa'i cho-'phrul)

of your own mind.

Knowing therefore that it appears but is not real, and without taking it as real, to be refuted or maintained, rejected or accepted,

Relate to whatever happens as a friend, fortunate ones!

Whatever bases of virtue come from practising like that, and whatever virtues you and all others have,

Should be dedicated to the entire multitude of sentient beings, with the immaculate wisdom of the three spheres.[62]

Understand it like that, fortunate ones!

Now that you understand cause and effect, and what to shun and what to accept,

If you don't practice these virtues, and if you fall for many eons into the bottomless, boundless, fiery pit of saṃsāra,

It will be very difficult to achieve benefit for both yourself and others. (f.127b)

Consider this well, fortunate ones!

If you practice these now, you will
be freed from the sufferings of the triple
universe of saṃsāra, reach the isle of
great joy and liberation,

And finally gain the citadel of the
Conquerors, thus achieving benefit for
both yourselves and others, fortunate ones!

It is rare for another to reveal to
you advice from the heart (snying-gtam).

If you don't advise yourselves,
it will henceforth be difficult to gain
a human body with the freedoms and
endowments.

Moreover, you must advise yourselves
now, and then discover and take hold
of what is essential, all you fortunate
ones!"

The crowd of Jo-gdan monks and the others gathered there felt great faith and devotion, and prayed.

****

A Journey to Five-Peak Mountain in China[63]

Once the Mahāsiddha went to China and traveled to Ri-bo rtse-lgna (Wu-ta'i-shan).[64] He met many meditators (bsam-gtan-pa) living in that area, and from among them, the bhikṣu 'Be-ho-dharma spoke to him.

"Yogi, you are of the snowy land of Tibet. This place is an isolated mountain (ri do-chad) surrounded by water. There are many cruel carnivorous animals and the like who would threaten your body and life. It is amazing that you arrived here alone, without companions on a road so difficult to travel.

"What area are you from? By what name are you called? (f.114b) What kind of gurus have you relied upon? What kind of dharma do you know? What meditation practice have you done? For what reason have you come to this place?"

The Mahāsiddha replied,

"Listen to me, you fortunate ones gathered here!

Through the force of your previous prayers and accumulated merit,

You have the complete freedoms and endowments, and have taken ordination.

You strive for the excellent dharma and rely upon seclusion.

Your practice of austerities is amazing.

Listen to this that I have to say.

I am a Tibetan man, the Builder of Iron Bridges.

For several hundred thousand lives I have prayed for the welfare of sentient beings and performed what was to be done (bya-ba byas) for the Buddhist doctrine.

Never apart from my five hundred perfect lamas, I devotedly keep them on the crown of my head.[65]

I understand the unerring intentions of the Conquerors.

I have purified the darkness of ignorance and lack of awareness.

Yidams and deities have even made prophecies to me.

My consciousness has been thoroughly cleansed in my prāṇa;

Thus have I gained control over the four elements ('byung-ba bzhi).[66]

I have completely integrated the four means to mature others.[67]

I can instantly go around to places difficult to traverse.

I work impartially for the welfare of beings.

I came to this place for the welfare of sentient beings.

This mountain is not isolated, but is explained like this in the tantric commentaries:

The glacial peak of Ti-se (Kailāsh), source of the four rivers,

Is a mountain like a crystal stūpa, a place where many arhats dwell,

And a gathering spot for spiritual heros (dpa'-bo) and ḍākinīs.[68]

From there the mountain range extends to the famous dPal-chen Chu-bo-ri, whose attributes exceed the imagination.[69]

Wise and realized beings continually appear in that place.

The ḍākinīs clear away obstacles, and experience and realization expand like the waxing moon. (f.115a)

There are sources of many riches, a hundred types of herbs, and medicinal waters.

There is no lack of variety in earth and stone.

You feel content simply to see it.

Continuing from there, I arrived at Tsa-ri, whose mountain range in lower Kong is famed as rGya-la rtse-ring.[70]

Here Drang-srong srin-po-ri is called Dbus-phyogs spus-ri.[71]

To the right of it is glorious bSam-yas, and to the left is Lhasa, the sphere of dharma.[72]

Following this mountain range I arrived at rGya-la rtse-sdum in lower Kong, and the place called gShin-rje'i dong-kha.[73]

Then by way of Zal-mo'i-sgang in mDo-khams, I reached this widely famed Wu-ta'i-shan.[74]

Books and scriptural transmissions are very important, but the practical experience of meditation (nyams-len) is most valuable."

The meditators were overjoyed by his words, and said, "Yogi, you should stay, and we will serve you."

The great Iron Bridge Man replied, "It isn't enough for me to stay in one place. It is more beneficial for me to travel around the land."

"Well then," they said, "we need a dharma connection with you."

They arranged a gaṇacakra, offering what valuables they had, and he bestowed upon them the scriptural transmission for the mTshan-brjod, and a direct introduction (ngo-sprod) to Mahāmudrā which benefited their minds.[75]

Then he perceived the five different colors and hand implements of exalted Mañjuśrī to be the essence of the five wisdoms, and (Mañjuśrī) spoke this prophecy:[76] "In order to tame savage Tibet, (f.115b) you must gradually build focal-points (sa'i me-btsa') with which to suppress the four elements."[77]

(Thang-stong) then taught the mDo sde dgongs pa nges 'grel and the Khang bu brtsegs pa'i mdo.[78]

From there he went to the Chinese palace and sat on a flat stone at the base of a large tree in front of the outer palace gate. The emperor with many attendants came out from the palace.[79] All the people rose, and were prostrating and paying respects to the emperor when an

officer of the law (khrims-las-pa) came up to the Mahā-siddha and said, "Prostrate and pay respects to the emperor!"

He glared at the emperor and his retinue and replied,

> "You were born on the throne of China
> by virtue of a bit of generosity in a former life,
> But you are the chief cause of misery for many people.
> You kings with your criminal behavior will soon be firewood for hell.
> The wealth you collect from your subjects is the very nature of your future retribution.
> You will lose this opulent palace to which you are attached, and go alone without companions.
> You are arrogant in your greatness, but you are just a sentient being.
> I am alone, but I am not your subject.
> I am a king, you should prostrate to me!"

A minister who could translate said, "You are alone. How could you be a king of this world? If you are a king

in harmony with the dharma, how do you subdue your enemies and protect your friends?"

This he replied:

"I am alone, dharmakāya. (f.116a)
I protect the kingdom of dharma like this:

As a five-formed king, the five wisdoms, in the palace of natural spontaneity (rang-byung lhun-grub),

I embrace the queen of natural wisdom, never for an instant apart.[80]

My son, a young child of awareness, is the natural radiance of dharmakāya at play.

My governers, the four styles of enlightened activity, work for the welfare of beings by training them in whatever way necessary.[81]

My ministers, the four immeasurables, negotiate without grasping at clarity or emptiness.[82]

My bureaucrats, the prayers between (meditation) periods, take responsibility for the actions of the swirling pit of saṃsāra.

The wealth deities, ḍākinīs, and dharmapālas, are the lay officials who constantly surround me.

My close companions, the four periods of yoga, guard the narrow entrance of laziness and inattention.

My workers, the four pledges, accomplish the compulsory labor ('u-lag) of meeting and accompanying virtuous action.[83]

With knowledge that knows the nature of reality (dbyings), and does not mistake what is to be abandoned and accepted about conditioned origination (rten-'brel),

I dispatch the enforcers (hor-'dra) of the ripening of a deed and its' fruit among the subjects of all that can be known.

I am always beating the drum of the law of the four summaries of dharma,[84]

In accord with my own and others' minds, and with respect to what is permitted and what is prohibited in the great and lesser dharma vehicles.

I continually act in a cordial manner

that connects me with intimate friends,
the ten virtues which bring happiness.[85]

My army of attentiveness (dran-shes)
which is the cure for the five poisonous
enemies who steal away one's happiness,[86]

Takes up the weapons of love and
compassion (f.116b), and is victorious
on the battlefield of saṃsāric misery.

Therefore I am a King of Dharma!"

At these words the emperor and his retinue said nothing and went away.

(The Mahāsiddha) remarked, "Not much of a connection of white or black karma with the emperor and his retinue was made, but in the future he will send presents and honor even my name. There is a distinction between the early and later connections of prayer."[87]

Then he went to the Nya'i-tu palace, bestowed the scriptural transmission for the mTshan-brjod to about 10,000 people and received great honors and offerings.[88]

****

A Precept on Mahāmudrā[89]

Once he traveled to a place known as sTag-lung-mthang khams ri-bo-che where about a thousand members of the sangha were gathered, and circled them three times without dismounting from his horse.[90] When he went to visit the offering-hall, they said, "It's not right to ride a horse inside the monastery." Many monks cast a great rain of stones upon him, but neither man nor horse were at all injured. Out of faith and devotion, the sangha invited him to the teaching throne of former great lamas in the temple. He remained for seven days and taught much dharma. They offered him inconceivable gifts such as sixty bundles of whole tea leaves (ja-sigs), forty horses and asses, ten dzo and yak, silken cloth, and jewels. Many men came to serve as his attendants.

At that time, bDe-legs-dpal (f.119a), a man of Khams, became completely faithful, and with respectful posture, joined his palms together and said this: "Father, precious lama endowed with the marks, Iron Bridge Man, your name is known everywhere. Emanation form of all the Buddhas, miraculous one named by the ḍākinīs, I have met many lamas, but never before felt genuine faith. Now that I have met you, a lama who is a Buddha, I request that you bestow upon me the essential precepts."

He offered a good variety of many things such as bolts of cloth, rolls of silk, dzo, horses, mules, and bundles of whole tea leaves, and said this: "I have spent my life in dharma, but until the root of clinging to a self (bdag-'dzin) is cut, I will wander in saṃsāra. Once I have cut off clinging to the five skandhas as a self, I will realize the real nature of mind (sems kyi gnas-lugs).[91] I request a profound instruction with which to see the immediacy (rang-zhal) of dharmakāya."

He requested very sincerely, causing the Mahāsiddha to speak this precept to the learned and venerable bDe-legs-dpal:

> "Listen, learned and venerable son, bDe-legs-dpal!
>
> Previously obscured by the dullness of ignorance, the thought 'I will practice dharma' was mixed with the eight worldly attitudes.[92]
>
> To achieve the aims ('dun-ma) of future lives, trust these thoughts on practice!
>
> Totally give up the aims of this life!
>
> Completely discard obsession with the eight worldly attitudes!

Break away from craving and vanity!

Cut connections to those near or far!

Tear out the stake of existence, clinging to a self!

Relax your thoughts of hope and fear!

Sever attachment to both food and clothing! (f.119b)

Don't wish for too much, be modest!

Accept the pain of renunciation (nges-'byung)!

Throw away attachment, hatred, and rivalry!

Banish evil thoughts of deception and deceit (g.yo-rgyu)!

Leave greed and hypocrisy alone!

Strictly uphold the three vows and the commitments![93]

Get rid of your pride, conceit, and anger!

Though everyone may despise you, cultivate patience!

Let your ordinary enemies wander off!

Defeat the hatred you have inside yourself!

Abandon thoughts of hoarding and stinginess!

Rely on benevolent thoughts and compassion in your being!

Make this mind of yours a witness to all the religion of the gods and the religion of men![94]

If you don't accomplish your aims right now, you may hope later, but hope will be gone!

Relax in a natural state (gnyug-ma'i ngang)!

Eradicate the basis of your confusion!

Watch your mind without distraction!

Grip it tightly (tsir-gyis zung) with no lapse in attention!

If you don't know your own nature (rang-ngo), you can grip till it hurts, but you will merely have passions.

If you don't hold to the clear light when asleep, I can point out your mind (sems ngo-'phrod) but it will be of little benefit.

If you don't hold to the clear light in the bar-do, I shudder at your torture

and agony (sha-re-g.ya').[95]

If you don't achieve freedom of mind, you may meditate for an eon, but you'll just get tired.

After the former thought has ceased, and before the next has arisen, what wonder (had-de-ba)!

A luminous but non-conceptual state, a place free of basis and devoid of ground,

This fresh (so-ma) awareness of the present is your mind, dharmakāya, free of elaboration (spros-bral).

Everything that appears is your mind, and your mind free of elaboration is dharmakāya.

Hence, conceptual thoughts, the dynamic energy (rtsal) of dharmakāya (f.120a), are unceasing in appearance and established in emptiness.

Pay attention to what arises and what appears!

Relax and let it be (cam-gyis thong)!

If you have self-awareness, drink of it again and again!

Let yourself be uncontrived and undistracted!

Be free from going and coming, and the triad of arising, ceasing, and remaining!

This is Mahāmudrā.[96]

To carry it on the path without distraction is important.

To act natural (lhug-par spyod-pa) without effort is important.

Practice like that!

I wander the land without direction.
Neither a yogi who has parted from obsession,
nor the sun which orbits the four continents
have time to pause in idleness!"[97]

Thus he spoke, and dGe-bshes bDe-legs-dpal and many other teachers who were followers of the system of explication and realization, prostrated, and weeping tears of faith, placed his feet on their heads. Once more they offered measureless goods.

****

A Reminder About Death[98]

On one occasion important people (skar-chen) from Pa-gro in Lho (Bhutan) came to meet the Mahāsiddha, (f.153b) and said to him,[99] "The dharma had not spread in our land, and you spread the dharma of kindness. Now it has spread even more than when you came. Lama, we miss you so much we are almost dying. By all means please come to Pa-gro."

The Mahasiddha replied, "If you are devoted to me, meditate that I am on the crown of your head, and pray!"[100]

"If we meditate upon you, your blessings will come, yet we have little pure vision (dag-snang) concerning the dharma. Because of our great desire and hatred, we are going to die in the midst of contending with our relatives over who is best. We request an instruction which will help our minds," they said.

"Keep this reminder of impermanence in mind, and think about it!" he answered.

> "The continually kind Lord of Dharma
> sits as an ornament on the crown of my
> devoted head.
>
> Sentient beings in general who wander

in saṃsāra, and particularly all of you who known that (every being) has been your mother,

Should clutch your fingers to your breasts (sor-mo brang la khrom) and think about this!

If you ponder life's impermanence and death, sadness and renunciation are born.

Don't be attached to this realm of saṃsāra!

Rely on the antidote for this enemy, the passions!

Don't carry the load of sin and obscuration!

Don't store up ripening evil karma!

This narrow trail of the bar-do is difficult to traverse.[101]

On this path to the next life, a far away place, everyone falls into the hands of the Lord of Death.

Here and now, second by second, this life is consumed, like cattle being led to the slaughter ground.

You may die tomorrow, or day after tomorrow; the time is uncertain.

The passage of breath into your nostrils is about to cease.

All the diviners, bon-pos, and doctors give up.[102] (f.154a)

They spread out a soft cushion, but you ache from below.

They lay down a soft pillow, but the skin of your cheek stiffens.

You are dressed in many clothes, but don't get warm.

Your body stinks with the smell of the dead.

The filth of a corpse appears on your face.

The fine taste of many sweet foods is lost.

You drink a sip of water, but it catches in your throat (mid-pa 'khril).

Your tongue can't utter a single word.

Your nose, the organ of scent perception, is stuffed with mucus.

The bright lamps of your eyes sink inward.

The body can't stir, your physical strength is gone.

Your weakened breath (dbugs pa-thag) gives off a rasping sound.

Loving relatives cry and cling to you.

You don't know yourself where you will go, but they place hope in the dying to fulfill the aims of the living, and say 'give us advice, leave a will!'

You are still thinking, and become sad.

You wish to stay, but haven't the freedom, and are lost to the power of the māra of the Lord of Death.[103]

Your loving relatives are dejected and mourn.

Your hateful enemies praise the gods, singing and dancing.

Some secretly hide your food and valuables.

Some make arrangements for your corpse.

You have no control over the mode of your birth or where you will be born.[104]

Even though you may know what to do,

the force of karma is stronger.

Objects of wealth won't turn the face of the Lord of Death.

The wealthy go empty handed and naked.

The eloquent speaker has nothing nice to say.

The nice, clever man is stricken mute.

There is nowhere for heros to join swords.

The bravery of warriors ends there.

The radiant complexion of a beautiful lady (sman mtshar-mo) fades.

The face of a sensuous girl is no use there.

You may have many attendants and servants who have borne suffering for you in many ways, (f.154b) but you will go alone.

Your sons and daughters gather around, but you will go alone.

Loved ones can't cope with the seperation.

The greedy ones want your valuables.

You remember the dharma then, but it is too late.

Everyone who has done non-virtuous acts is greeted in advance by the messengers of the Lord of Death,

Driven from behind by the māras and winds of karma,

And crushed from above by the load of their ripened actions.

Many confusing fears appear in your mind.

Unbearable torment gnaws at your mind.

You regret your past actions.

You think, 'Now I must practice dharma.'

If you died right now, what could you do?

It's time for you to think it over again.

Everyone eats a bit of food, and everyone puts clothes on their body.

Food and valuables other than that are excess.

It is best if you rely on the jewel of contentment.

All of you should keep these words in mind!

Ask the wise men if this is true.

When people who have renunciation and faith hear these words and think about them,

They will certainly become sad about saṃsāra."

****

<u>The Mystic Cloak</u>

<u>and</u>

<u>Instructions to Clear Away Obstacles</u>[105]

Once the Mahāsiddha went to gSer-phye 'bum-pa in lower dMyal, pulled his cloak over his head and sat down.[106] The scholar Yon-ldan snying-po and six disciples arrived to circumambulate the stūpa. They roused the one with the cloak over his head, and said, "You are unlearned, and don't know what is prescribed and what is prohibited in the Vinaya.[107] To practice samādhi meditation one needs to stay in a secluded place, but you dress up in a cloak (sle-bem) to get food by tricking the people of the land, which is a serious fault. This cloak isn't the attire prescribed by the Buddha. Explain why you have to wear this!"

They were very contemptuous, but the Mahāsiddha remained patient. His mind not wavering in the least, he sang this song as a means for clearing away the dharma-rejecting karma they were accumulating with their mistaken views and slander towards all types of mendicant yogis (byang-btang rnal-'byor-pa).

"Listen dGe-bshes, teacher and disciples!"

A charlatan (zog-po) clad in my cloak,
I roam the monastic grounds of faith and diligence.

Through learning I eliminated outer imputations (phyi-yi sgro-'dogs), and deciphered (gtan-la-phebs) external appearances.

I roam the mountain ranges of renunciation and practice (f.101b), and through meditation am free from inner bonds.

I have no terror of the three evil realms.[108]

I have never gone around the land for food.

I must go around the land to trick men towards virtue and guide the six types of beings on the path of liberation.[109]

I shall explain the need to wear a cloak.

This cloak worn on my body is smooth, nice, and unelaborate (spros-pa chod-pa).

This attachment of the inner and outer as one is my realization of the non-duality of saṃsāra and nirvāṇa.

This white and red plaited striping

is my acquisition of the four styles of
enlightened activity.[110]

This decoration with two iron clasps
is the fusion of method and wisdom.

This part drawn together with thread
is the three-fold universe brought under
control.[111]

This piecing together of three lapels
is the spontaneity of the trikāya.[112]

This, my entire body ensemble, is
a symbol of myself and manifest phenomena
brought under control.

My clothing transcends the norm.
I've explained my cloak, so act accordingly!"

His words caused the teacher and disciples to become very devoted, and they prostrated, placing his feet on their heads, and said, "Lama, you are a siddha. We confess our mistaken views. Now we request a dharma connection with you."

This he replied,

"If you are satisfied with whatever
happens, anything you do will be pleasant.

If your mind stays in place, it's
allright to wander around.

If your thoughts (blo) turn to dharma,
even death is easy.
If you realize mind is unborn,
there is nothing to die.
Act on that dharma connection!"

His words caused unfeigned faith to be born in the minds of the scholar and his disciples. "We pray to the lama (f.102a) cloaked in dharmakāya," they said, and went away.

From there he went to the venerable Ras-chung-pa's site of attainment, the monastery of Byar-po-nags. Performing the ritual for realization of Tshe-dpag-med (Amitāyus), he attained control over his lifespan.[113]

Then the Mahāsiddha traveled to the dKar-po don-ldan stūpa in Lo-ro. Many people gathered, and he gave sMyung-gnas.[114] At that time he had in his hand a good white conch shell. One person said, "Let me handle the conch," and stole it. The conch clearly trumpeted by itself, and no matter what he did to hide it, it could not be concealed, and he returned it.

From there he gradually traveled into Central Tibet, and arrived at the Crystal Cave of sGrag-yang-rdzong.[115] He bestowed the initiations and ritual permissions (rjes-gnang) of the dharmapālas to many people. Many of the

he stated that until the iron bridge was built, he would not pass from the door of his dwelling on dPal Chu-bo-ri, no matter what damage was caused from above by lightning, from below by lakes, and from in between by men and the eight kinds of spirits (sde-brgyad).[118] During that time he displayed various acts of clairvoyance and magic.

Once when performing the dGu-gtor, he realized that the life of a Jo-nang-pa layman who had relied upon the lotus feet of the Iron Bridge Man for more than a year was coming to an end.[119] He asked the many people assembled in front of him, "Is there a person capable of going to a far away place?"

The Jo-nang-pa said, "If I got a pair of boots, I would be ready to go."

"You don't need boots, we have a great goal to achieve," he replied, and made prayers.

He gave the initiation of Nam mkha' sgo 'byed to the people assembled there.[120] Struck by the visualization, on the first of the series of three "Phaṭ" the Jo-nang-pa's body and awareness seperated, and everyone assembled there saw white light about the size of an egg eject from the crown of his head and rise into the sky. They cremated his body at that time, and marvelous signs such as a rain of flowers and a lattice of rainbows appeared.

The bridge foundation had collapsed three times, and people said it was impossible to build the iron bridge. The monks (f.103a) were lazy, and most of them, particularly the translators and such, gathered together and talked.

"This work of ours will never end. He is a good lama, but he does not teach dharma. It isn't a project of virtue such as a shrine (lha-rten). The food of this life does not just come from whatever there is. We don't know where we will go in the next life. It would be better than working like this if we went around the land and visited the three types of shrines."[121]

Some said, "Let's go and request dharma from what good lamas there are."

Some said, "Let's roam through rugged mountain ranges and practice gCod."[122]

Some said, "Let's return home and defeat our enemies and protect our friends."

With his clairvoyance the Mahāsiddha knew what was being spoken, and said, "Gather all the monks and workers."

When they had gathered in front of his dwelling, an elaborate gaṇacakra was arranged, and he bestowed the instructions and scriptual reading for the sKyid sdug lam khyer.[123] Then he said this:

"You that are gathered here, listen undistractedly and with devotion!

The human body with the freedoms and endowments is difficult to obtain as a basis (rten).[124]

The Buddhist doctrine is rarely met with as a path.

As for karma, only now can you do virtuous deeds.

Worldly deeds are endless. There is even more to do than you have already done.

If hatred your foe is not overcome, it will be impossible to ever defeat your enemies.

If you don't know all beings are your parents, you will be uncertain who is foe and who is friend.

If you lack the fruit of generosity, you may wish for riches but they won't come.

If you don't know the true nature of dharmas, what use is just imagining them?

Look in your mind! What assurance do you have of no remorse even at death? (f.103b)

When working for your own and other's welfare, depression, irritation, and laziness are obstacles.

I shall explain well the instructions which clear away obstacles, so keep them in mind!

In the Ālaya-consciousness (kun-gzhi), an unchanging palace,

Is dharmakāya, an astonishing, incomporable mahābodhi-stūpa.[125]

Offer to it as gifts your body, speech, and mind.

In the village of objects for the five senses,

Are the troubadors of illusory sensual pleasure.[126]

They have various shows to watch. You should watch them undistractedly.

On the mountain of four elements, the illusory body,

Is the monastery of uncontrived mind (ma-bcos sems).[127]

It is a perfect place, where bliss and luminosity shine.

You should strive single-mindedly
in that place of attainment.

In the hermitage of purified ignorance,
dwells the lama of self-aware wisdom
(rang-rig ye-shes).

None are better than that lama.
Ask him for dharma and precepts.

The zombies of the eight worldly
attitudes stalk through the graveyard
of confused concepts.[128]

This inescapable and frightening
place is the spot to carry out the
performance of equal-flavor (ro-snyoms
spyod-pa).[129]

In this faultless vajra-body are
the twenty-four great centers, and the
assembled spiritual heros and ḍākinīs.[130]

Offer them a gaṇacakra.

In general, if you don't know the
way to practice dharma,

Whatever you do will cause you
to be bound.

You may go around the country,
but you'll just be like a beggar.

You may speak well, but you'll
just be like a singer.[131]

You may stay in the mountains,
but you'll just be like a mountain animal.

You may live in a cave, but you'll
just be like a marmot.

It is important to recognize your
own nature,

And be learned about cause and effect
and what to reject and what to accept.

Now that you've achieved the freedom,
if you don't apply yourself to white
deeds, (f.104a)

You will regret it when born in the
three evil realms, but there will be
nothing you can do.

For you animals in human form
with no virtuous karma of your own,
who cause others to doubt,

The time has come to take heed!

Through virtuous deeds without belief,
disrespectful deceit, and religious hypocrisy
which ignores morality,

You aren't even able to achieve your
own goals.

I'm an aimless madman who has prayed for a hundred thousand lives.

I hold the teachings of the Buddhas to be valid, and apply myself to virtuous activity with body, speech, and mind.

Even if I died right now, I would have no regrets.

I trick men towards virtue, and work impartially for the benefit of beings.

I pray to the triad of the lama, yidam, and gdon-bgegs, as one and inseperable.[132]

If you wish to follow me, cast away the haughtiness of this life and rely only on what food and clothing you may have.

Submit your body and mind to virtuous activity for the benefit of all sentient beings.

Recite the essential six-syllable mantra![133]

Meditate continually on impermanence and death!

Consider well the evils of saṃsāra!

Rely upon and trust in the Triple Gem!

If you act like this, you will achieve the great goal."

Through these words all became faithful and diligent in the projects of virtue. They didn't accumulate wealth, but went without hesitation to whatever places he sent them in Tibet and India.

****

Notes

1. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 20a-23a. Thang-stong rgyal-po's name was brTson-'grus bzang-po, but he is referred to as "the Mahāsiddha" (Grub-thob chen-po) throughout the biography. This is a title denoting the highest level of spiritual perfection. At the time of this trip he was still a young novice monk, and immediately upon his return went to take full ordination as a bhikṣu. sKyid-grong was a major border stop on the trade route from southwest Tibet into Nepal.

2. The seven-fold posture for proper meditation entails: 1. both feet crossed in the vajra-position, 2. hands laid together in the lap, 3. thumbs together at the navel, 4. stomach taut, 5. backbone straight, 6. chin tucked in towards the esophagus, 7. eyes focused in front of the tip of the nose.

3. The famous Jo-bo statue at sKyid-grong is one of the most holy images in Tibet. It is a likeness of the bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara in the two-handed form known as Kasarpāṇi. This image, famed as 'Phags-pa Wa-ti, was removed from the temple in sKyid-grong by the monks of the monastery who feared its' destruction by the Communist Chinese invaders. It was taken to Dharamsala, India, where H.H. the IVth Dalai Lama had settled in exile, and it remains there as the only surviving Jo-bo. See also A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal, by Turrell Wylie, (Rome, 1970), pp. 14-15.

4. The four styles of enlightened action are: tranquil, prosperous, powerful, and terrible. These different styles of action are manifested by an enlightened

being in a given situation, depending upon what will be of most benefit to other living beings. Avalokiteśvara and Tārā are bodhisattvas of tranquil form, Jambhala is an example of the prosperous form, Kurukulā that of the powerful, and Mahākāla of the terrible. These four styles of action are discussed on pp. 218-219 of Lobsang Lhalungpa's The Life of Milarepa, (New York, 1977).

5. Thang-stong rgyal-po was considered to be the dual emanation of the bodhisattva of compassion in his tranquil form known as Avalokiteśvara, and in his terrible form known as Hayagrīva.

6. The "three carry-overs" ('khyer-so gsum) are the method through which the state of meditative concentration is carried over from the meditation session into one's everyday activities. They are succinctly defined in Thang-stong's famous Avalokiteśvara sādhana, the 'Gro don mkha' khyab ma: /bdag gzhan lus snang 'phags pa'i sku/ sgra grags yi ge drug pa'i dbyangs/ dran rtog ye shes chen po'i klong/.

"I and others appear as the form of the Exalted One.
Sound is the Six-Syllable melody.
Memory and thought are the expanse of vast wisdom."

A commentary by the 15th Karmapa, mKha'-khyab rdo-rje, on this meditation has been translated by Ken McLeod, A Continuous Rain to Benefit Beings, op.cit.

7. The Seven Jewels of the Exalted Ones ('Phags-pa'i nor-bdun) are: 1. faith (dad-pa), 2. morality (tshul-khrims), 3. learning (thos-pa), 4. generosity (gtong-ba), 5. shame (ngo-tsha shes-pa), 6. modesty (khrel yod-pa),

7. knowledge (shes-rab). For a somewhat differing list, see Lhalungpa, op.cit., p. 221.

8. The ālaya-vijñāna (kun-gzhi rnam-shes) or Source Consciousness was first doctrinally formulated by the Indian master Asaṅga, and is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Cittamātra system of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Ālaya consciousness is said to be the source of all thought processes, and indeed all of what is normally taken to be external reality is also conceived to be a mere projection from this Source Consciousness. See Lhalungpa, op.cit., p. 217, note #5. For a more detailed discussion see Jeffrey Hopkins, Meditation on Emptiness, Ph.D., Univ. of Wisconsin, 1973, pp. 327-335.

9. The five poisons (dug-lnga) are: 1. desire-attachment ('dod-chags), 2. hatred (zhe-sdang), 3. ignorance (gti-mug), 4. pride (nga-rgyal), 5. envy (phrag-dog).

10. The "three doors" (sgo-gsum) are: 1. body (lus), 2. speech (ngag), and 3. mind (yid, or sems).

11. The ten virtuous types of action (dge-ba bcu) are usually explained as the opposite of the ten non-virtuous actions (mi-dge bcu). They are: 1. not to kill, 2. not to steal, 3. not to engage in sexual misconduct, 4. not to lie, 5. not to slander, 6. not to speak ill of others, 7. not to engage in idle chatter, 8. not to covet, 9. not to resent others, 10. not to hold perverted views. See sGam-po-pa's The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, trans. by Herbert Guenther, (Shambala, Berkeley, 1971), pp. 75-79.

12. The five wisdoms (ye-shes lnga) are: 1. mirror-like wisdom (me-long ye-shes), 2. wisdom of equanimity (mnyam-nyid ye-shes), 3. discriminating wisdom (sor-rtog ye-shes, 4. all-accomplishing wisdom (bya-grub ye-shes),

5. ultimate wisdom (chos-dbyings ye-shes).

13. The three poisons (dug-gsum) are: 1. desire-attachment, 2. hatred, 3. envy.

14. The Trikāya (sku-gsum) are: 1. dharmakāya (chos-sku), 2. sambhogakāya (longs-sku), 3. nirmanakāya (sprul-sku). These are the three forms of Buddhahood, as formulated in Mahāyanā Buddhism. Thang-stong rgyal-po briefly defines them in one of his teachings: "Sambhogakāya is unceasing luminosity, nirmanakāya is manifold in appearance, and dharmakāya is radiant emptiness." 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 139b. See Guenther, The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, op.cit., pp. 263-268 for a definitive explanation.

15. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 37b-42a. Thang-stong was pursuing the wandering life of a mendicant during these episodes, and had not yet gained widespread recognition. His first bridge and other projects were still some years in the future.

16. gSang-spyod in this context is probably a synonym for brtul-zhugs spyod-pa. (Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche)

17. Concerning the five ḍākinīs, see Lhalungpa, op.cit., p. 219. The flesh-eating and samaya ḍākinīs are not fully enlightened, as are those of the five Buddha families, but are worldly spirits.

18. See note #27, Chapter 5.

19. This refers to the third of the ten levels (bhūmi) of the bodhisattva path. See Guenther, The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, op.cit., pp. 239-256.

20. This text, like all of Thang-stong's gter-ma finds, is no longer extant.

21. Dol-po-pa The Omniscient (1292-1361) was the systematizer of the controversial Jo-nang-pa doctrines, and the builder of the great stūpa at Jo-nang. The Jo-nang school specialized in the Kālacakra-tantra cycles, and Thang-stong was famed as the rebirth of Dol-po-pa. He studied the Jo-nang doctrines under one of Dol-po-pa's disciples, Chos-dpal mgon-po of Yar-lung. For a detailed analysis of the Jo-nang school and its' doctrine, see D.S. Ruegg, "The Jo-nang-pas: "A School of Buddhist Ontologists according to the Grub-mtha' shel-gyi-me-long," Journal of American Oriental Society, vol. 83, (No. 1, 1963), pp. 73-91.

22. The Jo-bo Shākya was the most famous statue in Tibet. It was of Shākyamuni Buddha at age twelve, and was brought to Tibet by the Chinese wife of the Tibetan king Srong-btsan sgam-po (617?-650). See Ferrari, op.cit., p. 86 for more information.

23. The statue of Vaiśravaṇa with a Red Lance (rnam-sras mdung dmar-can) is an especially revered image at Bya-rgod-gshong. See Ferrari, op.cit., pp. 25, 67. See also Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1956), pp. 69-70.

The five types of jewels are usually enumerated as coral, pearl, turquoise or lapus lazuli, and both gold and silver. gTor-ma are votive offerings often made from edible substances such as butter and barley paste.

24. Mus-chen Nam-mkha' rnal-'byor was an important guru of the Shangs-pa bKa'-brgyud school and was a teacher of Thang-stong's lama dPal-'byor shes-rab. There is a short biography of him in The Shangs-pa gSer-phreng, op.cit., pp. 664-666.

Tillipa is an alternate form of the name Tilopa, the guru of the Indian siddha Nāropa.

25. Yan-lag-'byung is the Tibetan name for Angirāja, one of the Sixteen Arhants. He is said to reside on Mt. Kailāsh. Crystal Mirror, (Dharma Publishing, 1977), vol. V, p. 28.

26. The aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā. This text has been translated by Edward Conze, The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & Its' Verse Summary, (Bolinas, 1973).

27. Zha-lu, usually spelled Zhwa-lu, is a monastic complex founded by lCe-btsun Shes-rab 'byung-gnas in 1040. See Tucci, Tibetan Painted Scrolls, op.cit., pp. 177-178, and pp. 656-662 for a partial translation of the geneology of the lCe princes of Zhwa-lu. The monastery was most closely affiliated with the Sa-skya school, and a Zhwa-lu subsect developed following the great Bu-ston Rin-chen-grub (1290-1364) who was abbot there.

The Seven Branch Offering (yan-lag bdun-pa), which is to accumulate merit, is composed of: 1. performing prostrations, 2. making offerings, 3. confessing misdeeds, 4. delighting in virtuous deeds, 5. urging teachers to teach Dharma, 6. urging enlightened ones not to pass into nirvāṇa, 7. dedicating all your merit to the enlight-enment of all. See The Torch of Certainty, by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, trans. by Judith Hanson, (Shambala, 1977), p. 114.

28. lCags-ri and 'Obs-kha are parts of the Zhwa-lu complex. The brTag pa gnyis pa is the primary text of the Hevajra-tantra cycle. It has been translated, with

commentary by D.L. Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, op.cit.

29. For more information on these places, see the above cited works by Wylie and Ferrari.

30. The gaṇacakra (tshogs-'khor) or Circle of Hosts, is an important tantric ritual. For more information see M. Lalou, "Preliminaires d'une étude des Gaṇacakra," Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism, (Koyasan, 1965), pp. 41-46.

31. Vajrayoginī is an important yidam and dakini who is the consort of Cakrasaṁvara ('Khor-lo bde-mchog). The commentaries of Thang-stong rgyal-po on the Six Dharmas of Niguma deal with advanced meditation upon these two deities. Kong-sprul, gDam ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, p. 275.

The four initiations are: 1. Vase Initiation (bum-dbang), 2. Secret Initiation (gsang-dbang), 3. Initiation of Knowledge and Wisdom (shes-rab ye-shes dbang), 4. Fourth Initiation (dbang bzhi-pa). Much could be said of these four aspects of initiation, but in brief, their purpose is to plant the seeds for future acquisition of the four kāyas, remove impurities of body, speech, and mind, and confer ability to pursue specific meditation practices. See Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 57-58.

32. The five meats and the five elixirs are integral to the performance of the gaṇacakra. The five meats are: 1. human, 2. elephant, 3. horse, 4. dog, 5. bird. Although a small portion of meat and alcohol is necessary to hold a gaṇacakra, the use of these substances in Buddhist tantric ritual is primarily metaphorical. For a better understanding of their function, see W. Stablein, The Mahākālatantra: A Theory of Ritual Blessings and Tantric

Medicine, Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1976, p. 50 etc.

33. Padma-rāga is the name of the mountain peak residence of Vajrayoginī in the paradise of mKha'-spyod. The five mudrās are five bone ornaments worn by feminine yidams. They are: 1. a tiara, 2. earrings, 3. necklace, 4. bracelets and anklets, 5. an apron.

34. mKha'-spyod-ma (Khecarī) is a specific form of Vajrayoginī.

35. This is a holy statue of Avalokiteśvara originally brought from India. See G. Tucci, *Indo-Tibetica* (4 vols. in 7 parts), (Rome, 1932-1941), IV, 1, p. 71.

36. The *rGyud-gsum* or Triple Continuum is an explanation concerning the Hevajra-tantra cycle. It forms a specific part of the distinctive Sa-skya-pa method of Hevajra explication which is termed Lam-'Bras, or The Path and its' Fruit.

37. The Vajravarāhyabhibhavatantrarāja-nama, a tantra of the yoginī class. See #378 in *The Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons*, ed. by Hakuju Ui, etc., (Tohoku, Japan, 1934).

38. The initiation of bDag-med lha-mo bco-lnga is that of Nairātmyā, the consort of Hevajra, and her retinue of fourteen godesses. The next initiations are four different cycles of Avalokiteśvara practice.

39. The Ngur-smrig sgrol-ma in Rong-chen is a statue of the bodhisattva Tārā. See Ferrari, *op.cit.*, pp. 70, 163.

40. The palace is the Potala of the Dalai Lamas, and sMal-lcags is the base of lCags-po-ri, the mountain where Thang-stong rgyal-po later built a temple, and where the Medical College of Lhasa was located.

41. The Ra-sa 'phrul-snang is the name of the ancient temple which houses the famous Jo-bo statue of the Buddha Shākyamuni. It is the oldest Buddhist temple in Tibet, having been built by Srong-btsan sgam-po (617?-650). See Ferrari, op.cit., pp. 85-87 for details of both temple and statue.

42. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 124a-127b. These episodes, and all the following excerpts from the biography, occurred during the latter part of Thang-stong rgyal-po's life, when he was over seventy years old.

Yar-'brog lake is one of the four great lakes of Tibet. See Wylie, Geography of Tibet, op.cit., p. 131. The monastery of bSam-sdings is located on the northern end of the lake, and was the seat of the famous Yar-'brog rje-btsun-mas who were the only female incarnation line in Tibet. They were famed as emanations of rDo-rje phag-mo (Vajravārāhī). See Das, Journey to Central Tibet and Lhasa, (London, John Murray, 1902), pp. 135-139. The incarnations at Yar-'brog are the rebirths of Thang-stong rgyal-po's consort rJe-btsun Chos-kyi sgron-me.

43. There are four primary "māras," or aspects of the forces which keep us in spiritual bondage. They are: 1. the māra of the passions (nyon-mongs-pa'i bdud), 2. the māra of the Lord of Death ('chi-bdag gi bdud), 3. the māra of the skandhas (phung-po'i bdud), 4. the māra of the gods (lha'i-bu'i bdud). For a detailed analysis of the māras see dPal-sprul O-rgyan 'jigs-med chos-kyi dbang-po's bDud kyi rgyu brtags te spong tshul gyi man ngag bdud las

rnam rgyal, in vol. 2 of his Collected Works, pp. 639-673, vol. 39, (Ngagyur Nyingmay Sunrab Series, Gantok).

44. The six kinds of beings ('gro-ba rigs-drug) are: 1. gods (lha), 2. demi-gods (lha-ma-yin), 3. humans (mi), 4. animals (dud-'gro), 5. spirits (yi-dwags), 6. hell beings (dmyal-ba).

45. See Ferrari, op.cit., p. 161 for information on the sNye-mo area. The future projects referred to by the spirit are the stūpa-temple complex built by Thang-stong rgyal-po on Ri-bo-che from 1449-1456.

46. The sMyung-gnas practices are focused upon the One-thousand Armed form of Avalokiteśvara, and involve fasting and meditation for two days or more. The most widespread of the sMyung-gnas systems has come down from dGe-slong-ma dPal-mo, the sister of the king of U-rgyan, Indrabhūti.

47. The great Kashmiri scholar Shākya-śrī-bhadra (1127-1225), was in Tibet from 1204-1213 and taught extensively, counting many of the greatest masters of Tibet such as Sa-skya Paṇḍita among his disciples. Snellgrove and Richardson, A Cultural History of Tibet, (New York, 1968), p. 139. Thang-stong is probably referring to the fact that Shākya-śrī was a mendicant, who lived a very austere personal life.

48. "Homage to the Lord of this World," ie. Avalokiteśvara.

49. The freedoms and endowments (dal-'byor), are freedom from eight unfavorable conditions, and endowment with ten favorable situations. The eight unfavorable conditions are those of: 1. hell beings, 2. spirits, 3. animals, 4. barbarians, 5. long-lived gods, 6. those

holding erroneous views, 7. those born in an era when there is no Buddha, 8. the stupid.

The ten favorable situations are divided into five which affect us directly and five which affect us indirectly. The five which affect us directly are: 1. to be a human being, 2. to be born in a central country, 3. to possess all senses, 4. not to commit inexpiable evil deeds, 5. to have confidence in the spiritual life. The five which affect us indirectly are: 1. the appearance of a Buddha, 2. the teaching of the doctrine, 3. the stability of the elements of existence, 4. the existence of a following of the teaching, 5. the existence of compassion and love for others. Guenther, The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, op.cit., pp. 14-17.

50. The three-fold universe is: 1. the Desire Realm ('dod-khams), 2. the Form Realm (gzugs-khams), 3. the Formless Realm (gzugs-med khams). Human beings dwell in the Desire Realm. For the eight worldly attitudes, see note #27, Chapter 5.

51. See note #13.

52. The three evil realms (ngan-song gsum) are those of animals, spirits, and hell beings. The three pleasant realms (bde-'gro gsum) are those of human beings, demigods, and gods. These six together are termed the "six types of beings" ('gro-ba rigs-drug).

53. The three nirvāṇas are: 1. nirvāṇa in which the residue of the skandhas still remain (phung-po lhag-ma dang bcas-pa'i mya-ngan-las-'das-pa), 2. nirvāṇa in which the residue of the skandhas no longer remain (phung-po lhag-ma med-pa'i mya-ngan-las-'das-pa), 3. Non-abiding nirvāṇa (mi-gnas-pa'i mya-ngan-las-'das-pa). A Tibetan-

English Dictionary, by Sarat Chandra Das, (Delhi, 1970), p. 978. I have retranslated the Tibetan terms.

54. The practices of "sending and taking" (gtang-len) are most closely connected with the tradition of "mind training" (blo-sbyong). These teachings were spread widely in Tibet by the great Indian master Ātisha (982-1054) and his followers. For more information on this tradition of mental discipline, see A Direct Path to Enlightenment, 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, trans. by Ken McLeod, (Vancouver, B.C., 1974).

55. The two aspects of bodhicitta are the relative and the absolute. For a detailed explanation see Guenther, The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, op.cit., pp. 112-147.

56. This stanza is referring to the practice of maṇḍala offerings in which the entire universe is offered in a stylized form for the purpose of perfecting wisdom and merit. In the construction and visualization of the maṇḍala, Mt. Meru is in the center surrounded by the four continents and the sun and moon.

The "five gratifications" ('dod-yon lnga) refers to offerings of substances which are pleasing to the five senses.

The "seven riches" (rin-chen bdun) refers to the seven symbolic possessions associated with the cakravartin or universal ruler. They are: 1. the precious wheel, 2. the precious wish-fulfilling gem, 3. the precious queen, 4. the precious minister, 5. the precious elephant, 6. the precious horse, 7. the precious general. Hanson, The Torch of Certainty, op.cit., pp. 92-116.

57. The vows (sdom-pa) of pratimokṣa are of the śrāvakayāna; those of the bodhisattva are of the mahāyāna,

and the commitments (dam-tshig) are of the vajra or mantrayāna. There are fourteen root and eight branch commitments in Vajrayāna Buddhism. Hanson, The Torch of Certainty, op.cit., p. 138.

58. bDe-mchog (Saṃvara) and his consort rDo-rje rnal-'byor-ma (Vajrayoginī) are primary yidams of the Six Dharmas of Niguma upon which Thang-stong wrote meditation manuals. These yidams are important for all the new schools in Tibet.

See note #6 concerning the "three carry-overs."

59. The "circle of great bliss" (bde-chen 'khor-lo, mahāsukha-cakra) refers to meditation involving the system of cakras, or psychic centers in the body. In tantric meditation the guru is often visualized on the crown of the head in a specific divine form. The number of cakras, their names, and their positions in the body vary within the different systems. There are usually four cakras in the Buddhist system, but sometimes five or more. The "cakra of great bliss" is located on the crown of the head, and the others are in the throat, heart, navel, and sometimes the genital area. For a discussion on the theory of the cakras, see Kindly Bent to Ease Us, kLong-chen rab-'byam-pa, trans. by Herbert V. Guenther, (Dharma Publishing, 1976), part 2, pp. 13-18.

60. The "six aggregates" (tshogs-drug) refers to the six aspects of cognition. They are cognition of sight, hearing, smell, taste, touch, and thought.

61. Mahāmudrā (phyag-rgya chen-po) is a term denoting the direct realization of reality. The teachings of Mahāmudrā were spread most widely in Tibet by sGam-po-pa (1079-1153), and are most closely associated with the

bKa-brgyud-pa systems although they are also found among all the gSar-ma-pa schools. The most detailed discussions of the theory behind Mahāmudrā realization are found in Herbert Guenther, The Life and Teachings of Nāropa, (Oxford Univ. Press, 1966), pp. 222-235; and "Mahāmudrā--The Method of Self-Actualization," The Tibet Journal, op.cit., vol. 1, no. 1, July/Sept., 1975, pp. 5-23.

Mādhyamika or "The Middle Way" represents the pinnacle of Mahāyāna Buddhist philosophical development. It was first expounded by the Indian sages Nāgārjuna and Āryadeva. Rejecting all extremes, the Mādhyamika dialectic seeks to define all phenomena as interdependent in origin, and therefore empty of any substantial self-nature. For a thorough treatment of the subject, see T.R.V. Murti, The Central Philosophy of Buddhism, (Allen and Atwell, London, 1960).

62. The "three spheres" ('khor-gsum) involved in any action are: 1. an object, 2. an instrument, 3. a subject or actor. See Hanson, The Torch of Certainty, op.cit., p. 89. In this instance, the merit derived from one's virtuous action should be dedicated to all beings without distinction, without attachment to the act of dedication, and without pride in oneself at performing the dedication. Any religious act carried out with this type of pure attitude is thereby effective. See also Guenther, The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, op.cit., p. 110.

63. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 114a-116b. This trip took place soon after Thang-stong assisted the sDe-dge king Bo-thar bKra-shis seng-ge in constructing the famous monastery of Lhun-grub-steng in 1446.

64. Ri-bo rtse-lnga (Wu-ta'i-shan) is the famous

"Five-Peak Mountain". in modern Shan-hsi province of China. It is traditionally considered to be the home of the bodhisattva Mañjushrī, and is an important pilgrimage site.

65. During Thang-stong rgyal-po's long career, he studied under some five hundred gurus. In tantric meditation one's gurus are all visualized as embodied in a single form on the crown of one's head. The form visualized depends upon the specific practice.

66. In tantric yoga the consciousness and the "vital wind" (prāṇa, or rlung) are intimately connected. Consciousness is conveyed through the organism by means of the movement of the vital winds through the psychic veins. The yogic texts speak of mind and prāṇa as indivisible (rlung-sems dbyer-med). For a general discussion of prāṇāyāma, see Yoga, Immortality and Freedom, by Mircea Eliade, (Bollingen Series, Princeton, 1969), pp. 55-65.

The yogi who perfects the fusion of consciousness and prāṇa thus gains control over the four elements (earth, water, fire, air) which compose the human body.

67. The 'du-ba rnam-bzhi, usually referred to as the bsdu-ba'i dngos-po bzhi, are four methods which are used by a religious teacher to attract others to the dharma. They are: 1. generosity (sbyin-pa), 2. pleasant speech (snyan-pa), 3. helpfulness (don-spyod), 4. being agreeable (don-'thun). See also Hanson, The Torch of Certainty, op.cit., p. 115. These four are used to mature others while the Six Perfections (phar-byin drug) are used to mature oneself.

68. The mountain Ti-se (Kailāsh) in west Tibet is an immensely important holy site for both Hindus and Buddhists. The Hindus believe it to be the home of Śiva

and his consort Pārvatī, and the Buddhists regard it as the residence of Cakrasaṃvara and Vajravārāhī. The four great rivers which flow from the Kailāsh area are the Ganga, Sindhu, Sīta, and Pakṣu according to Geshe Chos-grags, Tibetan-Tibetan Dictionary, p. 261. See Wylie, Geography of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 121-122.

69. Chu-bo-ri was the location of Thang-stong rgyal-po's main monastery in Central Tibet and his most famous iron bridge. It had been considered to be a holy mountain for centuries.

70. Tsa-ri is a mountain holy to the Cakrasaṃvara-tantra tradition. See note #21 in Chapter 3.

71. Srin-po-ri in Central Tibet is another famous mountain with spiritual significance. Vibhūticandra, an Indian paṇḍit who accompanied the great Kashmiri paṇḍit Shākya-śrī (1127-1225) during his travels in Tibet built a temple on Srin-po-ri dedicated to Cakrasaṃvara. Roerich, Blue Annals, op.cit., pp. 600-601.

72. bSam-yas was the first Buddhist monastery in Tibet. It was built by the king Khri-srong lde-brtsan (755-797) acting as the patron of Padmasambhava and Shāntirakṣita. See G. Tucci, To Lhasa and Beyond, op.cit., pp. 119-121. Lhasa is of course the capital of Tibet, and was the seat of the Dalai Lamas and the Tibetan government.

73. I have not been able to identify these places in Kong-po.

74. Zal-mo'i sgang is in the sDe-dge area of mDo-khams in far east Tibet near the Chinese border. For information on Thang-stong's activities there, see Chapter 4. See note #64 concerning Wu-ta'i-shan.

75. The mTshan-brjod is the abbreviated Tibetan name for the Mañjuśrījñanasattvasya paramārthanāmasaṃgīti. See Ui, op.cit., #360.

76. See note #12 concerning the five wisdoms.

77. See Chapter 4 for details on the theory and construction of "focal points" (sa'i me-btsa').

78. The mDo sde dgongs pa nges 'grel is the Arya-Saṃdhinirmocananāma-mahāyāna-sūtra, Ui, op.cit., #106. The Khang bu brtsegs pa'i mdo is the Kūṭāgāra-sūtra, Ui, op.cit., #332.

79. This encounter probably took place in 1446 or 1447 outside the imperial palace at Ta'i-tu. The emperor of China during this period was Chu Ch'i-chen (11/29/1427-2/23/1464). He was the only Ming emperor to reign over two periods, Chen-t'ung (1436-1449) and T'ien-shun (1457-1464). Between these two reigns he was a captive of the Oirat Mongols for about a year, and then kept in confinement while his brother ruled in his place. He regained the throne in a coup d'état in 1457. His temple name was Ying-tsung. See L. Carrington Goodrich and Chaoying Fang, Dictionary of Ming Biography (1368-1644), (Columbia Univ., 1976), pp. 289-294.

80. See note #12 concerning the five wisdoms. The metaphor is alluding to the five tathāgathas, Akṣobhya, Vairocana, Amitābha, Ratnasambhava, and Amoghasiddhi who are the saṃbhogakāya embodiments of the five wisdoms. They are often depicted in union with their respective consorts. (Ven. gDong-thog Rinpoche).

81. See note #4 concerning the four styles of action.

82. The four immeasurable attitudes (tshad-med bzhi)

are: 1. benevolence (byams-pa), 2. compassion (snying-rje), 3. joy (dga'-ba), 4. equanimity (btang-snyoms). For a brief explanation of their significance, see Hanson, The Torch of Certainty, op.cit., pp. 64-65.

83. I have not been able to identify the "four pledges" (dam-bca'-bzhi) in this context.

84. According to gDong-thog Rinpoche, the term sdom is here used in the sense of sdom-tshig, ie. a "summary." The "four summaries" are: 1. all composite entities are impermanent, 2. all defilement causes suffering, 3. all dharmas are empty and lack self-nature, 4. nirvāṇa is peace.

85. The greater and lesser vehicles in Buddhism are the traditions of Mahāyāna and Hinayāna. See note #11 concerning the ten virtues.

86. See note #9 for the five poisons.

87. After regaining the imperial throne of China in 1457, Chu Ch'i-chen sent extravagant gifts to Ri-bo-che on the occasion of the investiture of Nyi-ma bzang-po (b.1436) as Thang-stong rgyal-po's heir. In a letter of thanks, Thang-stong referred to having received a prophecy from the bodhisattva Mañjuśrī during an eight month stay on Wu-ta'i-shan and that he had only briefly met the emperor whom he addresses by the Tibetan name rGyal-po dPal-gyi 'byung-gnas. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 143b, 146b-147a.

88. Nya'i-tu is an alternate spelling or corruption of Ta'i-tu, the Chinese imperial palace. See note #75 concerning the mTshan-brjod.

89. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 118b-120a.

90. The monastery of Ri-bo-che in Khams was founded by Sangs-rgyas dbon (1251-1296) in 1276. It became the mother monastery of the sTag-lung bKa'-brgyud-pa school. See the "Introduction" by E.G. Smith, p. 6, of the dKar brgyud gser 'phreng, A Golden Rosary of Lives of Eminent Gurus, op.cit. This monastery should not be confused with Thang-stong's monastery of Ri-bo-che in La-stod.

91. The five skandhas (phung-po lnga) or constituents of personality are: 1. form (gzugs), 2. sensation (tshor-ba), 3. apperception ('du-shes), 4. conditioning ('du-byed), 5. consciousness (rnam-shes).

92. See note #27, Chapter 5.

93. See note #57.

94. The "religion of the gods" (lha-chos) and "the religion of men" (mi-chos) are ancient terms in Tibet. The "religion of the gods" originally referred to the Bon religion and then later to Buddhism. The "religion of men" refers to the sixteen point moral code set up by the king Srong-btsan sgam-po, and was also applied to the indigenous popular traditions of Tibet. Stein, Tibetan Civilization, op.cit., pp. 100, 192-197.

95. The "bar-do" is the period between death and the taking of a new birth. For a commentary and translation of the text used for guidance through the bar-do, see The Tibetan Book of the Dead, Francesca Freemantle and Chogyam Trungpa, (Shambhala, 1975).

96. See note #61. The reference is to the constant, haphazard movements of conceptual thoughts.

97. In the Buddhist conception of the cosmos, Mt. Meru at the center is surrounded by the four continents of

Videha, Jambudvipa, Godaniya, and Uttara-Kuru. The sun and moon rotate above them. For a diagram of the Buddhist cosmos in more detail, see Hanson, The Torch of Certainty, op.cit., pp. 92, 95.

98. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 153a-154b. This episode occurs towards the end of Thang-stong rgyal-po's life, while he is living at his monastery of dPal Ri-bo-che in La-stod Byang.

99. Thang-stong visited the Pa-gro area during 1433-34. See Chapter 4 for a discussion of his activities in the Bhutanese area.

100. See note #59. The visualization of one's guru on the crown of one's head is a special characteristic of guru-yoga, a devotional yoga practiced for the purpose of receiving the blessings of the guru.

101. See note #95.

102. A "bon-po" is an adherent to Bon, the shamanistic religion of Tibet.

103. See note #43.

104. There are four "modes of birth" (skyes-gnas bzhi). They are: 1. birth from a womb (mngal-skyes), 2. apparitional birth (brdzus-skyes), 3. birth from an egg (sgong-skyes), 4. birth from moisture (drod-gsher las skye-ba).

105. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., ff. 101a-104a.

106. dMyal, often spelled gNyal, is the area of the gNyal river valley in southeast Lho-kha, near the border of Bhutan. See the map of Tibet in Ferrari, op.cit.

107. The Vinaya contains the corpus of rules of

conduct for monks. The Tripiṭika, or "Three Baskets" of Buddhist scripture are made up of the Vinaya, the Abhidharma, and the Sūtras.

108. Thang-stong has no fear of being born in the hell realms, spirit realms, or animal realms.

109. See note #52.

110. See note #4.

111. See note #50.

112. See note #14.

113. Ras-chung rDo-rje-grags (1083-1161) was a chief disciple of Mi-la-ras-pa. The forest (nags) of Byar-po refers to the valley of the river Byar, north of gNyal.

Tshe-dpag-med (Amitāyus) is the Buddha of infinite life. Realization through meditation upon him is said to grant long life and immortality. Thang-stong rgyal-po was of course famed for his long life, which was credited to his perfection of meditation on Amitāyus. See Chapter 1 for more information on Thang-stong's own system of life sustaining practice, which became the most popular in Tibet.

114. Lo-ro is in the same general area as gNyal and Byar in southeast Tibet. Concerning the "sMyung-gnas," or rites of fasting, see note #46.

115. The "Crystal Cave" (shel gyi brag-phug) is the rock cavern where O-rgyan gling-pa (b.1323) discovered the gter-ma text of the Padma thang yig concealed by Padmasambhava. See Ferrari, op.cit., p. 128.

116. These deities are all dharmapālas, whose function is to help clear away materialistic anti-spiritual

forces, and aid the meditator by removing obstacles to realization.

The Six-armed Mahākāla is a terrible emanation of Avalokiteśvara, the bodhisattva of compassion. He is the special protector of the Six Dharmas of Niguma, with which Thang-stong was so intimately involved. There is a meditation text concerning the identity of the spiritual master with the Six-armed Mahākāla (bla-ma mgon-po dbyer-med) written by Thang-stong rgyal-po. Kong-sprul, gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, p. 325. The Six-armed Mahākāla was also adopted by the dGe-lugs-pa school as one of their main dharmapālas.

Gur-mgon is a two-armed form of Mahākāla especially sacred to the Sa-skya-pa sect. He is a wrathful manifestation of Śri-Hevajra and the special protector of the Lam-'bras system of Hevajra practice distinctive to the Sa-skya-pa. Thang-stong rgyal-po on one occasion was graced by a vision of Gur-mgon, who was assigned to be his protector by the great Indian Mahāsiddha Bram-ze mchog-sred, the first human master in the Gur-mgon lineage. 'Gyur-med bde-chen, op.cit., f. 47b.

The Four-armed Protector is another form of Mahākāla. See Nebesky-Wojkowitz, Oracles and Demons of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 44-47 for a description of various forms.

Legs-ldan is probably the same as rDo-rje Legs-pa, one of the great protectors of the rNying-ma-pa school, who was first subdued by Padmasambhava. Ibid, pp. 154-159.

rNam-sras (Vaiśravaṇa) is the god of wealth, and also the lokapāla or protector of the northern quarter of the world. The rTa-bdag-brgyad are eight horsemen in his retinue. Ibid, pp. 68-81 contains detailed information on the various forms and functions of Vaiśravaṇa.

117. After Thang-stong's trip to Pa-gro in about 1433-34, these two hundred loads of iron had been forwarded to Chu-bo-ri from Phag-ri by Chos-rgyal Kun-bzang-'phags (1389-1442).

118. See note #34, Chapter 4.

119. The dGu-gtor are rites held directly before the beginning of the new year for destroying negativity built up throughout the previous year.

120. The initiation of Nam mkha' sgo 'byed, or "Opening the Door of the Sky" is a special practice of 'Pho-ba or "Transference of Consciousness." It has been passed down from the Indian saint Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas. Ma-gcig Labs-sgron received it from her guru sKyo-ston bsod-nams bla-ma, and it has been transmitted through her lineages until the present day. A most extraordinary version of the Nam mkha' sgo 'byed was received by Thang-stong rgyal-po from Ma-gcig in a vision. This practice holds a central place in the oral teachings of gCod passed down from Thang-stong. See the Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., vol. 1, pp. 86-97. The consciousness is released through the bramanical aperture at the crown of the head during the 'Pho-ba rite.

121. The "three shrines" (rten-gsum) are symbols of enlightened mind, speech, and form. Examples are stupas, books, and statues.

122. The practices of "Severance" (gCod) came into Tibet through Padmasambhava and Pha-dam-pa Sangs-rgyas. Thang-stong rgyal-po received the transmission of the Byang-gter teachings of gCod which came from Padmasambhava, and in a vision of Ma-gcig Labs-sgron received the gCod teachings passed down to her through Pha-dam-pa. These latter

teachings from Ma-gcig are what make up the Thang stong snyan brgyud.

123. The sKyid sdug lam khyer concerns how to transform inopportune circumstances into actual benefits on the spiritual path. There is a text recording the teachings of Ma-gcig on twenty-five types of lam-khyer included in the Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., pp. 25-29. It states that the teachings have a place in the corpus of Zhi-byed instructions of Pha-dam-pa sang-rgyas. The eighth Karmapa Mi-'gyur rdo-rje (1507-1554) also composed a text of related interest, the sKyid sdug lam khyer, which is included in his gDams khrid man ngag gi rim pa 'chi med bdud rtsi'i ljon bzang, (Delhi, 1976).

124. See note #49.

125. See note #8 concerning the Ālaya-consciousness. Dharmakāya is the state of total, unconditioned enlightenment, and as such is present in the Ālaya-consciousness. The Ālaya transformed and purified becomes dharmakāya. It is said that when the embryo of enlightenment present in all living beings is not actualized, it is called the Ālaya, and when it is actualized it is called the dharmakāya. The dharmakāya is symbolically depicted in this verse in the form of the mahābodhi-stūpa. Stūpas in the Buddhist tradition are symbolic architectural representations of the enlightened state of mind. There are eight traditional forms of the stūpa which symbolize eight major events in the life of Shākyamuni Buddha. One of these is the mahābodhi-stūpa, or "stūpa of great enlightenment" which represents the enlightenment of Shākyamuni. For a brief description of the eight types of stūpas, see the mChod rten brgyad kyi thig rtsa mdor bsdus pa in vol. 1 of the Collected Works of 'Jam dbyangs bzhad pa'i rdo rje,

(Ngawang Gelek Demo, New Delhi, 1974).

126. The "five sense faculties" (dbang-po lnga) are: the eyes, ears, nose, tongue, and body. Their "objects" (yul) are what can be seen, heard, smelled, tasted, and touched. The "sensual pleasures" ('dod-yon) are what is beautiful to see, sweet to hear, fragrant to smell, pleasant to taste, and pleasing to touch.

127. The four elements which make up the body are earth, water, fire, and air.

128. See note #27, Chapter 5.

129. Ibid. I am following the reading of the Tibet House print in my translation of this verse.

130. In the Tantric tradition the importance of the human body is stressed, for it forms the basis without which the attainment of enlightenment would be impossible. It is referred to as "vajra-body" because of the potential inherent in each human being, which if actualized, results in the transformation of the ordinary illusory body (sgyu-lus) into an adamantine, vajra-body (rdo-rje lus). See Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 56-60, 261 #6.

The "twenty-four centers" (yul-chen nyi-shu rtsa-bzhi) are sacred locations in India, Tibet, and the Himalayan regions where the ḍākinīs and spiritual heros dwell. In the esoteric sense they exist in each human body. This theory of the twenty-four centers is especially connected to the Cakrasaṃvara tradition, and to that of Hevajra. From among these twenty-four sites, Thang-stong rgyal-po traveled to Rameshwara where he received teachings from Vajravārāhī, to Kāmarūpa, and according to 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, to Kalinga. Kong-sprul, gDams ngag mdzod, op.cit., vol. 8, p. 728. For a list of the twenty-four

centers and their equivalents in the human body, see Snellgrove, The Hevajra Tantra, op.cit., pp. 69-72, note #2, and Tsuda, The Saṃvarodaya-tantra, selected chapters, op.cit., pp. 260-263. See Lhalungpa, The Life of Milarepa, op.cit., pp. 206-207 for a good brief definition of the types of ḍākinīs, the twenty-four places, and the vajra-body.

131. A singer can sound eloquent without understanding a single word of his song.

132. In the Tantric tradition, the guru, the meditational deity (yi-dam), and demonic forces (gdon-bgegs, or 'dre) are all viewed as ultimately identical. The general Vajrayāna explanation of this is that all phenomena are to be viewed by the disciple as essentially identical to the nature of the lama. An explanation found in the Thang stong snyan brgyud, op.cit., vol. 2, pp. 26-28, gives further interpretation. The demonic forces ('dre) are to be seen as the lama because just as the lama first causes one to begin a religious life through his urgings towards dharma, so also as a result of the harm or illness caused by demonic forces, one embarks upon deity meditation, recitation of mantras, devotion, and other virtuous activities. In this way the demonic forces lead one along the spiritual path, as does the teacher. The demonic forces are also to be seen as the yidam because just as one is granted attainments as a result of offering prayers to the yidam, so also as a result of illness brought upon one's body by demonic forces, one's obscurations are purified. Furthermore, when obstacles and problems occur, by instantly pursuing them one realizes that they are really empty by nature. Thus one's problems actually are the agents which bring about self-transformation.

See also Tucci, The Religions of Tibet, op.cit., pp. 173-175.

133. The six-syllable mantra of Avalokiteśvara, "Oṃ maṇi padme hūṃ."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A. TIBETAN LANGUAGE SOURCES

Abhayattaśrī (Mi-'jigs-pa sbyin-pa dpal). Lu yi pa sogs grub thob brgyad bcu rtsa bzhi'i yang dag lo rgyus. Peking bsTan-'gyur, Tokyo-Kyoto, 1956. Vol. 87, pp. 175-201 (rGyud-'grel, Lu: ff. 2a-68a).

bDud-'joms, 'Jigs-bral ye-shes rdo-rje. Gangs ljongs rgyal bstan yongs rdzogs kyi phyi ma snga 'gyur rdo rje theg pa'i bstan pa rin po che ji ltar byung ba'i tshul dag cing gsal bar brjod pa lha dbang g.yul las rgyal ba'i rnga bo che'i sgra dbyangs. Kalimpong, 1967.

brTson-'grus seng-ge, Kun-spangs. Phung po gzan du skyur ba'i rnam par bshad pa las. Ma gcig lab sgron ma'i rnam par thar pa mdor bsdus tsam dri med shel phreng. University of Washington, East Asia Library manuscript collection. Dbu-med manuscript, ff. 339.

brTul-zhugs gling-pa. The Collected Revelations of brTul-zhugs gling-pa. New Delhi, 1977.

bsTan-'dzin Padma'i rgyal-mtshan. Nges don bstan pa'i snying po mgon po 'bri gung chen po'i gdan rabs chos kyi byon tshul gser gyi phreng ba. Kangra, H.P., 1977.

Bu-ston Rin-chen 'grub. bDe mchog spyi rnam don gsal. Collected Works of Bu-ston. Vol. 6. Śatapiṭaka Series, 1965. Vol. 46.

Byang-chub seng-ge. Chos rgyal chen pos bka' yis 'phrin las pa sprang byang chub seng ges bar do dmyal bar byon nas 'khor 'das gyi dkar nag dbye ba'i 'bras bu'i

rnam thar mdor bdus. University of Washington, East Asia Library manuscript collection.

Chos-kyi rgya-mtsho, Ka-thog Si-tu. *Gangs ljongs dbus gtsang gnas skor lam yig nor bu zla shel gyi se mo do*. Palampur, H.P.: Khams-sprul Don-brgyud nyi-ma, 1972.

Dagyab, L.S. *Bod brda'i tshig mdzod, Tibetan Dictionary*. Dharamsala, 1966.

Dbang-phyug kong-ston. *Kun mkhyen bsod nams seng ge'i rnam thar*. New Delhi: T.G. Dhongthog, 1973.

dGe-'dun rin-chen, Brag-phug dge-shes. *dPal ldan 'brug pa'i gdul zhing lho phyogs nag mo'i ljongs kyi chos 'byung blo gsar rna ba'i rgyan*. rTa-mgo, Bhutan, 1976.

dKon-mchog dpal-bzang, *bLa ma thang stong rgyal po'i rnam thar gsal ba'i sgron me*. rTa-mchog nor-bu'i sgang, Bhutan. Dbu-can manuscript, ff. 294. Chapters 61 and 64 copied by Mr. Michael Aris.

dKon-mchog lhun-'grub, and Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs. *Dam pa'i chos byung tshul legs par bshad pa bstan pa rgya mtshor 'jug pa'i gru chen zhes bya ba rtsam 'phro kha skong bcas*. New Delhi: Ngawang Tobgay, 1973.

dPal-ldan chos-kyi bzang-po. *sDe pa g.yas ru byang pa'i rgyal rabs rin po che bstar ba*. In *Rare Tibetan Texts from the Library of Tsepon W.D. Shakabpa*. New Delhi, 1974.

dPal-ldan tshul-khrims. *Chos 'byung kun gsal me long*. Dolanji, H.P.: Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1971.

'Dzam-gling rdo-rje, Chos-rje gling-pa. *bKa' gter dag snang zung du 'brel ba'i tshe sgrub shin tu nye brgyud kyi sgrub thabs dbang chog dang bcas pa*. *sGrub thabs*

kun btus, Dehradun, H.P.: 1970. Vol. 1, pp. 471-480.

gTer-bdag gling-pa and Lo-chen dharma-śrī. *sGrub thabs 'dod 'jo'i bum bzang*. Gantok: 1977.

'Gyur-med bde-chen, Lo-chen. *dPal grub pa'i dbang phyug brtson 'grus bzang po'i rnam par thar pa kun gsal nor bu'i me long*. Bir, Dist. Kangra, H.P., India: Kandro, Tibetan Khampa Industrial Society, 1976.

'Jam-dbyangs bzhad-pa'i rdo-rje. *mChod rten brgyad kyi thig rtsa mdor bsdus pa*. In *Collected Works*, New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, 1974, vol. 1.

'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-phyug. *gSung ngag rin po che lam 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i khrid kyi zin bris gsang chen bstan pa rgyas byed ces bya ba las. snang ba gsum du bstan pa'i lam gyi zin bris kha'u brag rdzong pa'i bzhed pa ma nor ba*. Lam-'bras slob-bshad collection, vol. Pha.

'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po. *Collected Songs of Mystical Realization*. Dehradun: N. Gyaltsan, Nyingmapa Lama's College, 1971.

________. *Gangs can gyi yul du byon pa'i lo pan rnams kyi mtshan tho rags rim tshigs bcad du bsdebs pa ma hā pan di ta shī la rat na'i gsung*. *Collected Works*. Gantok, 1977. Vol. 19.

________. *Grub thob chen po'i thugs thig las. sgrub thabs snying po skor lnga*. In the *Rin chen gter mdzod*, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 4.

________, and bLo-gter dbang-po. *sGrub pa'i thabs kun las btus pa dngos grub rin po che'i 'dod 'jo*. Dehradun, H.P.: G. Loday, N. Gyaltsen & N. Lungtok, 1970.

'Jam-mgon kong-sprul, bLo-gros mtha'-yas. *gDams ngag mdzod*. Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsan, 1971.

_________. Grub chen thang stong rgyal po la gsol ba 'debs pa grub pa'i sgra dbyangs. gDams ngag mdzod, Delhi: 1971. Vol. 8, pp. 726-729.

_________. Grub pa'i dbang phyug lcags zam pa chen po'i nye brgyud yi ge drug pa'i sgom lung 'bogs tshul gzhan phan mkha' khyab. sGrub thabs kun btus, Dehradun: 1970. Vol. 3.

_________. Grub thob chen po'i thugs thig las. smin byed kyi lag len khrigs su bsdebs pa legs bshad snying po. Rin chen gter mdzod, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 17.

_________. Rin chen gter mdzod chen mo. Paro, Bhutan: 1976.

_________. rJe btsun bla ma thams cad mkhyen cing gzigs pa 'jam dbyangs mkhyen brtse'i dbang po kun dga' bstan pa'i rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar mdor bsdus pa ngo mtshar u dum ba ra'i dga' tshal. In the rGya chen bka' mdzod, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 15.

_________. Zab mo'i gter dang gter ston grub thob ji ltar byon pa'i lo rgyus mdor bsdus bkod pa rin chen bai dūr ya'i phreng ba. In the Rin chen gter mdzod, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 1.

'Jigs-med grags-pa phyogs-las rnam-rgyal. A Biography of Si-tu Rab-brtan kun-bzang 'phags. Dharamsala: 1978.

Kun-bzang nges-don klong-yangs, Rig-'dzin. Bod du byung ba'i gsang sngags snga 'gyur gyi bstan 'dzin skyes mchog rim byon gyi rnam thar nor bu'i do shal, A History of the Nyingmapa Tradition. Dalhousie, H.P.: 1976.

Kun-dga' bstan-pa'i nyi-ma, sDe-gzhung sprul-sku. Bod ljongs mdo khams sga ldan skyur gsum gyi byung tshul

nyung bsdus gtam gyi sa bon. Dbu-can manuscript.

__________. dPal sa skya pa sngags 'chang bla ma khri chen rdo rje 'chang ngag dbang mthu stobs dbang phyug drag shul yon tan rgya mtsho bkra shis grags pa rgyal mtshan dpal bzang po'i rnam thar nyung bsdus bkra shis skye ba lnga pa'i sgra dbyangs. Dbu-med manuscript.

Kun-dga' dpal-'byor, rGyal-dbang 'brug-pa. Collected Works of rGyal-dbang Kun-dga' dpal-'byor. Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunzang Tobgay, 1976.

Kun-dga' dpal-ldan, Mon-rtse-pa. dKar brgyud gser 'phreng. Leh, Ladakh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1970.

Kun-dga' grol-mchog. Grub pa'i dbang phyug thang stong rgyal po la thugs rje chen pos dngos su gnang ba'i snying po yi ge drug pa'i nyams len gyi gzhung gsal byed dang bcas pa. In the sGrub thabs kun btus, Dehradun: 1970. Vol. 3, pp. 17-21.

Kun-gzigs chos-kyi snang-ba, 8th rGyal-dbang 'brug-pa. Tsa ri'i gnas bshad rgyas par bshad pa'i le'u. In Rare Tibetan Texts from Nepal, Dolanji, H.P.: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1976.

Mi-'gyur rdo-rje, 8th Karma-pa. sKyid sdug lam khyer. In gDams khrid man ngag gi rim pa 'chi med bdud rtsi'i ljon bzang. Delhi: 1976.

Mi-pham rgya-mtsho, 'Jam-mgon 'ju. Rong zom gsung 'bum dkar chag me tog phreng ba. In Rong zom bka' 'bum, Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunsang Tobgay, 1976.

mKha-khyab rdo-rje, 15th Karma-pa. Grub pa'i dbang phyug thang stong rgyal po'i nye brgyud 'phags mchog spyan ras gzigs kyi bsgom bzlas 'gro don mkha' khyab ma'i zin bris nyung bsdus 'gro don char rgyun. Dbu-can

manuscript, ff. 22.

mKhas-btsun bzang-po. Biographical Dictionary of Tibet and Tibetan Buddhism. Dharamsala, H.P.: 1973.

Nam-mkha' legs-pa. Grub chen Thang stong rgyal po'i rnam thar gcod yul nyams bzhes. In The Collected Works of Thang stong rgyal po, Thimphu, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 1, pp. 43-47.

Ngag-dbang blo-bzang rgya-mtsho, 5th Dalai Lama. Byang pa rig 'dzin ngag gi dbang po'i rnam par thar pa ngo mtshar bkod pa rgya mtsho. In the bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar, Leh, Ladakh: Sman-rtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1972. Vol. 37.

__________. Record of Teachings Received, The gSan-yig of the Fifth Dalai Lama. Delhi: 1971.

Ngag-dbang bstan'dzin nor-bu. gCod yul nyon mongs zhi byed kyi bka' gter bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar byin rlabs gter mtsho. Gantok: Sonam T. Kazi, 1972.

Ngag-dbang dam-chos rgya-mtsho. rGyud sde rin po che kun las btus pa'i byung tshul dang bka'i bsdu ba ji ltar mdzad pa'i 'phros las brtsams te gleng ba zab don sgo brgya 'byed pa'i lde'u mig. In 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po, rGyud sde kun btus. Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsan, 1971. Vol. 30.

Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bkra-shis, Sa-skya-pa. Byang gter lcags sdong ma lha mang gi dbang chog 'chi med grub pa'i sa bon. In the Rin chen gter mdzod, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 29.

__________. With later additions by 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po and bLo-gter dbang-po. Nye brgyud tshe rta zung 'brel 'chi med dpal ster gyi sgrub

thabs dbang chog man ngag dang bcas pa. In the *sGrub thabs kun btus*, Dehradun: 1970. Vol. 1, pp. 427-470.

Ngag-dbang kun-dga' bsod-nams, 'Jam-mgon A-myes zhabs. *dPal sa skya pa'i yab chos kyi nying khu 'khor lo sdom pa'i dam pa'i chos byung ba'i tshul legs par bshad pa bde mchog chos kun gsal ba'i nyin byed*. New Delhi: Ngawang Tobgay, 1974.

__________. *'Dzam gling byang phyogs kyi thub pa'i rgyal tshab chen po dpal ldan sa skya pa'i gdung rabs rin po che ji ltar byon pa'i tshul gyi rnam par thar pa ngo tshar rin po che'i bang mdzod dgos 'dod kun 'byung*. Dolanji, H.P.: Tibetan Bonpo Monastic Centre, 1975.

Ngag-dbang mkhyen-rab. *Phung po gzan skyur gyi rnam bshad gcod kyi don gsal byed*. Included as the second text in *gCod kyi chos skor*, New Delhi: Tibet House, 1974.

O-rgyan 'jigs-med chos-kyi dbang-po, rDza dpal-sprul. *bDud kyi rgyu brtags te spong tshul gyi man ngag bdud las rnam rgyal*. In the *Collected Works*, Gantok: Nga-gyur Nyingmay Sunrab Series. Vol. 39.

__________. *rDzogs pa chen po klong chen snying tig gi sngon 'gro'i khrid yig kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung*. Xylograph.

Padma gling-pa. *Padma gling pa gter chos*. Thimphu, Bhutan: 1975.

Padma 'phrin-las, Rig-'dzin. *bKa' ma mdo dbang gi bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam thar*. Leh, Ladakh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1972. Vol. 37.

rGod-kyi ldem-phru-can, Rig-'dzin. *Tshe sgrub lcags kyi sdong po*. *Rin chen gter mdzod*, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol.29, pp. 249-269.

Rin-chen rnam-rgyal, Lha-btsun. Grub thob gtsang pa smyon pa'i rnam thar dad pa'i spu slong g.yo' ba. Included in the bDe mchog mkha' 'gro snyan brgyud, Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1971. Vol. 1.

________. rJe btsun mi la ras pa'i rdo rje'i mgur sogs gsungs rgyun thor bu 'ba'. University of Washington, East Asia Library microfilm collection. Reel #B3-1b.

Sangs-rgyas phun-tshogs, Ngor-chen. rGyal ba rdo rje 'chang kun dga' bzang po'i rnam par thar pa legs bshad chu bo 'dus pa'i rgya mtsho yon tan yid bzhin nor bu'i 'byung gnas. New Delhi: Trayang & Jamyang Samten, 1976.

Sangs-rgyas rgya-mtsho, sDe-srid. dPal ldan gso ba rig pa'i khog 'bugs legs bshad bai dūr ya'i me long drang srong dgyes pa'i dga' ston. Published as Ayurveda in Tibet, Leh: Tashi Tashigang, 1970.

________. dPal mnyam med ri bo dga' ldan pa'i bstan pa zhwa ser cod pan 'chang ba'i ring lugs chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba gsal bar byed pa bai dūr ya ser po'i me long. New Delhi: Śatapiṭaka Series, 1960. Vol. 12.

________. Vai dūr ya dkar po. New Delhi: 1972.

Sa-skya Paṇḍita, Kun-dga' rgyal-mtshan. sDom gsum gyi rab tu dbye ba'i bstan bcos. In the Sa skya bka' 'bum, Tokyo: Toyo Bunko, 1968. Vol. 5.

Shangs pa gser 'phreng. Leh, Ladakh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1970. Vol. 15.

Shes-rab rgyal-mtshan, rJe mkhan-po. rJe bla ma rin po che'i rnam par thar pa zhal gsung ma bden gnyis 'grub pa'i shing rta. Published in Biographies of Three Bhutanese Prelates (rJe mkhan-po), Thimphu, Bhutan:

Kunzang Topgey, 1976.

sNa-tshogs rang-grol, rGod-tshangs ras-pa. gTsang smyon he ru ka phyogs thams cad las rnam par rgyal ba'i rnam thar rdo rje theg pa'i gsal byed nyi ma'i snying po. Published as The Life of the Saint of gTsang, New Delhi: Śatapiṭaka Series, 1969. Vol. 69.

sNa-tshogs rang-grol, rTse-le. gSung 'bum of rTse-le rgod-tshangs-pa sna-tshogs rang-grol. New Delhi: 1974.

Srong-btsan sgam-po. Ma ṇi bka' 'bum (Punaka Redaction). New Delhi: Trayang & Jamyang Samten, 1975. 2 vols.

Thang-stong rgyal-po, Grub-chen. The Collected Works of Thang-stong rgyal-po. Thimphu, Bhutan: Kunsang Topgay, 1976. 4 vols. to date.

__________, and 'Jam-dbyangs mkhyen-brtse'i dbang-po. Grub chen thang stong rgyal po'i lugs kyi nad brgya sman gcig ril bu dkar dmar kyi gzhung gsal byed dang bcas pa. In the Rin chen gter mdzod, Paro, Bhutan: 1976. Vol. 73, pp. 335-351.

__________. Grub chen thang stong rgyal po'i rdo rje'i gsung sa skya nad grol mar grags pa'i smon lam. Gantok: Sakya Ngorpa Society, 1964.

__________. Ni gu'i yan lag phyag chen ga'u ma'i khrid. In the gDams ngag mdzod, Delhi: 1971. Vol. 8.

__________. Thang stong snyan brgyud. New Delhi: Trayang, 1972. 2 vols.

__________. Ye shes mkha' 'gro ni gu ma'i chos drug gi khrid kyi gnad yig snying po kun 'dus. In the gDams ngag mdzod, New Delhi: 1971. Vol. 8.

Theg-mchog bstan-pa'i rgyal-mtshan, gDong-thog sprul-sku.

Important Events in Tibetan History. New Delhi: 1968.

The Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Tokyo-Kyoto: D.T. Suzuki, ed., 1956.

Tshe-dbang nor-bu, Rig-'dzin. Bod rje lha btsad po'i gdung rabs mnga' ris smad mang yul gung thang du ji ltar byung ba'i tshul deb gter dwangs shel 'phrul gyi me long. Dbu-med manuscript in the library of Mr. E.G. Smith.

__________. Sangs rgyas bstan pa rin po che ji ltar gnas gyur dus kyi nges pa rjes su dran pa bskyed pa legs bshad sa bon tsam smos pa nyung ngu don gsal rin po che sgron me. In the Collected Works of Ka'-thog Tshe-dbang nor-bu, Dalhousie, H.P.: 1977.

Tshul-khrims rin-chen, Zhu-chen. The Autobiography of Zhu-chen Tshul-khrims rin-chen. Delhi: N. Lungtok & N. Gyaltsan, 1971.

__________. sDe dge'i bstan 'gyur gyi dkar chag. Delhi: Trayang & Jamyang Samten, 1974.

__________. Zhu chen tshul khrims rin chen gyi gsan yig. Dehradun: D. rGyal-mtshan, 1970.

Ye-shes dpal-'byor, Sum-pa mkhan-po. 'Phags bsam ljon bzang. New Delhi: Śatapiṭaka Series, 1959. Vol. 8, pt. 3.

Ye-shes lhun-grub, bsTan-'dzin. Nye brgyud tshe sgrub 'chi med dpal ster gyi dbang chog bdud rtsi'i chu rgyun. In the sGrub thabs kun btus, Dehradun, 1970. Vol. 13, pp. 600-622.

__________. Tshe sgrub nye brgyud kyi sgrub thabs 'chi med grub pa'i zhal lung. In the sGrub thabs kun btus, Dehradun, 1970. Vol. 13.

Ye-shes rgyal-mtshan, Tshe-mchog-gling yongs-'dzin. Byang chub lam kyi rim pa'i bla ma brgyud pa'i rnam par thar pa rgyal bstan mdzes pa'i rgyan mchog phul byung nor bu'i phreng ba. New Delhi: Ngawang Gelek Demo, Gendan Sungrab Minyam Gyunphel Series, 1972. Vol. XIX.

Ye-shes rtse-mo. rJe thams cad mkhyen pa dge 'dun grub pa dpal bzang po'i rnam thar ngo mtshar rmad byung nor bu'i 'phreng ba. In the 'Phags pa 'jig rten dbang phyug gi rnam sprul rim byon gyi 'khrungs rabs deb ther nor bu'i 'phreng ba. Dharamsala: 1977. Vol. 1.

B. SOURCES IN EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

Ardussi, John A. 'Brug-pa kun-legs, the Saintly Tibetan Madman. University of Washington: M.A. Thesis, 1972.

__________. "The Quest for the Brahmaputra River." In the Tibet Journal, Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, Spring 1977.

__________. Some Notes on the Dates of Thang-stong rgyal-po and His Connection with the Development of the Rituals of Long Life and the Masked Dance. University of Washington: Inner Asia Colloquim paper.

Aris, Michael. "'The Admonition of the Thunderbolt Cannon-ball' and its place in the Bhutanese New Year Festival." London University School of Oriental and African Studies Bulletin, 1976. Vol. 39.

Bhattacharya, Deben. Songs of the Bards of Bengal. New York: Grove Press, 1969.

bsTan-'dzin rgya-mtsho, H.H. the 14th Dalai Lama. "Introduction" to Tantra in Tibet, The Great Exposition of Secret Mantra, by Tsong-kha-pa, trans. by Jeffrey Hopkins. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1977.

Conze, Edward. The Perfection of Wisdom in Eight Thousand Lines & It's Verse Summary. Bolinas, 1973.

Corbin, Henry. Creative Imagination in the Sufism of Ibn Arabi. Princeton University Press, Bollingen Series XCI, 1969.

Crystal Mirror. Dharma Publishing, 1977. Vol. 5.

Dargyay, Eva M. The Rise of Esoteric Buddhism in Tibet. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1977.

Das, Sarat Chandra. Journey to Lhasa and Central Tibet. London: 1904.

_________. A Tibetan-English Dictionary with Sanscrit Synonyms. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Dhondrup, K. and Tsering, Tashi. "Samdhing Dorjee Phagmo-Tibet's Only Female Incarnation." Tibet Review. New Delhi: Aug. 1979, vol. XIV no. 8, pp. 11-17.

Dorje, Tashi. "Education in Tibet." The Tibet Journal. Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, 1977. Vol. 2, no. 4.

Eliade, Mircea. Yoga, Imortality and Freedom. Princton: Bollingen Series, 1969.

Epstein, Lawrence. The Biography of the Second rGyal-dbang Karma-pa, Karma Baqsi. University of Washington. M.A. Thesis, 1968.

Ferrari, Alfonsa. mKhyen-brtse's Guide to the Holy Places of Central Tibet. Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1958.

Freemantle, Francesca and Trungpa, Chogyam, trans. The Tibetan Book of the Dead. Shambhala, 1975.

Goldstein, Melvyn. Tibetan-English Dictionary of Modern Tibetan. Kathmandu, Nepal: Ratna Pustak Bhandar, 1975.

Goodrich, L. Carrington and Fang, Chaoying. Dictionary of Ming Biography (1368-1644). Columbia University, 1976.

Guenther, Herbert V.,trans. The Jewel Ornament of Liberation, by sGam-po-pa. Berkeley: Shambhala, 1971.

__________, trans. Kindly Bent to Ease Us, by kLong-chen rab-'byam-pa. Dharma Publishing, 1976.

__________. The Life and Teachings of Naropa. Oxford University Press, 1966.

__________. "Mahāmudrā-The Method of Self-Actualization" The Tibet Journal. Dharamsala, H.P.: Library of Tibetan Works and Archives, July/Sept. 1975. Vol. 1, no. 1, pp. 5-23.

Gyatso, Janet. The Teachings of Thang-stong rgyal-po. Paper at the International Seminar on Tibetan Studies, Oxford, July 2, 1979.

Hanson, Judith, trans. The Torch of Certainty, by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul. Shambhala, 1977.

Hauri, H.H. and Peters, T.F. The Development of Suspension Bridge Construction from the Earliest Attempts to the Beginnings of Wire Cable Bridges. ASCE Convention & Exposition, Boston, April 2-6, 1979.

Hedin, Sven. Southern Tibet. Stockholm: 1917.

Hopkins, Jeffrey. Meditation on Emptiness. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1973.

Hummel, Siegbert. "The Tibetan Ceremony of Breaking the Stone." History of Religions. University of Chicago: Nov. 1968, vol. 8, #2, pp. 139-142.

Jäschke, H.A. A Tibetan-English Dictionary. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1968.

Kinsley, David. "'Through the Looking Glass', Divine Madness in the Hindu Religious Tradition." History of Religions. University of Chicago: May 1974, vol. 13 no. 4, pp. 270-305.

Kolmaš, Josef. A Geneology of the Kings of Derge (sDe-dge'i rgyal-rabs). Prague: Academia, 1968.

Kunga Rinpoche and Cutillo, Brian. Drinking the Mountain Stream. New York: Lotsawa, 1978.

Lalou, Marcelle. "Preliminaires d'une étude des Gaṇacakra," Studies of Esoteric Buddhism and Tantrism. Koyasan: 1965.

Lhalungpa, Lobsang. The Life of Milarepa. New York: 1977.

McLeod, Ken. A Continuous Rain to Benefit Beings. Vancouver, Canada: Kagyu Kunkhyab Chuling.

__________. A Direct Path to Enlightenment, by 'Jam-mgon kong-sprul. Vancouver, B.C.: 1974.

Murti, T.R.U. The Central Philosophy of Buddhism. London: Allen & Atwell, 1960.

Nebesky-Wojkowitz, René de. Oracles and Demons of Tibet. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1956.

Nölle, Wilfried. "Kāmarūpa." Indo-Asian Studies. New Delhi: Śatapiṭaka Series, 1965, vol. 37, pp. 125-127.

Poucha, Pavel. "Le vers tibetain." Archiv Orientalni. XVIII, 4, 1950, pp. 188-235; XXII, 4, 1954, pp. 563-585.

H.R.H. Prince Peter of Greece and Denmark. "The Ceremony of Breaking the Stone." Folk. Dansk Ethnograjisk Tidsskrift, 1962, vol. 4, pp. 65-70.

Rechung Rinpoche. Tibetan Medicine. University of California, 1976.

Robinson, James. The Eighty-four Siddhas. University of Wisconsin, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1975.

Roerich, George, trans. The Blue Annals. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.

__________. "The Ceremony of Breaking the Stone." Journal of Urusvati. Himalayan Research Institute, Jan. 1932, vol. II, pp. 25-51.

Ruegg, D. Seyfort. "The Jo-naṅ-pas: A School of Buddhist Ontologists According to the Grub-mtha' shel-gyi me-long." Journal of American Oriental Society, 1963, vol. 83, no. 1, pp. 73-91.

__________. The Life of Bu-ston Rinpoche. Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1966.

Smith, E. Gene. "Introduction" to the bKa' brgyud gser 'phreng, A Golden Rosary of Lives of Eminent Gurus. Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1970, vol. 3.

__________. "Introduction" to the Shangs pa gser phreng. Leh: Smanrtsis Shesrig Spendzod, 1970, vol. 15.

__________. "Preface" to The Autobiographical Reminiscences of Ngag-dbang dpal-bzang, Abbot of Kaḥ-thog Monastery. Gantok: 1969.

Snellgrove, David and Richardson, Hugh. A Cultural History of Tibet. Fredrick Praeger, 1968.

__________. Four Lamas of Dolpo. Oxford: Bruno Cassirer, 1961.

__________. The Hevajra Tantra. London: Oxford University Press, 1959, 2 vols.

Stablein, William. The Mahākāla Tantra: A Theory of Ritual Blessings and Tantric Medicine. Columbia University, Ph.D. Dissertation, 1976.

Stein, R.A. L'Épopée Tibetaine de Gesar dans sa version lamaïque de Ling. Paris: 1956.

__________, ed. & trans. Recherches sur l'épopée et le barde au Tibet. Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1959.

__________. Tibetan Civilization. Stanford University Press, 1972.

__________. Vie et chants de 'Brug pa kun legs le yogin. Paris: G.P. Maisonneuve et Larose, 1972.

Tsogyal, Yeshe. The Life and Liberation of Padmasambhava. Emeryville, Cal.: Dharma Publishing, 1978.

Tsuda, Shinichi. The Saṃvarodaya-tantra, Selected Chapters. Tokyo, 1974.

Tucci, G., trans. Deb ther dmar po, The New Red Annals. Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1971.

__________. Indo-Tibetica. (4 vols. in 7 parts). Rome, 1932-41.

__________. To Lhasa and Beyond. Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1956.

__________. The Religions of Tibet. University of California Press, 1980.

__________. Tibetan Painted Scrolls. Rome: 1949, 3 vols.

Turner, Capt. Samual. An Account of an Embassy to the Court of the Teshoo Lama in Tibet. 1971 Reprint of 1800 edition.

Ui, Hakuju, ed. The Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons. Tohoku, Japan, 1934.

Varadachari, K.C. Alvars of South India. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1966.

Vekerdi, J. "Some Remarks on Tibetan Prosody." Acta Orientalia Hungrica. Budapest: 1952, II, 2-3, pp. 221-234.

Vostrikov, A.I. Tibetan Historical Literature. Calcutta: Soviet Indology Series, 1970.

Waddell, L.A. Lhasa and It's Mysteries. London: 1906.

Wayman, Alex. The Buddhist Tantras. New York: Samual Weiser, 1973.

Wylie, Turrell V. The Geography of Tibet According to the 'Dzam-gling rgyas-bshad. Rome: Is.M.E.O., 1962.

__________. A Tibetan Religious Geography of Nepal. Rome: 1970.

APPENDIX A

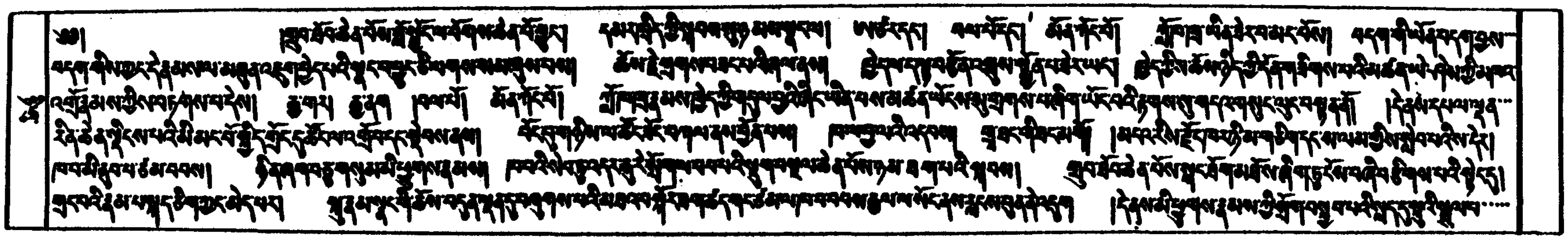
Text of the Selections from the

Kun gsal nor bu'i me long

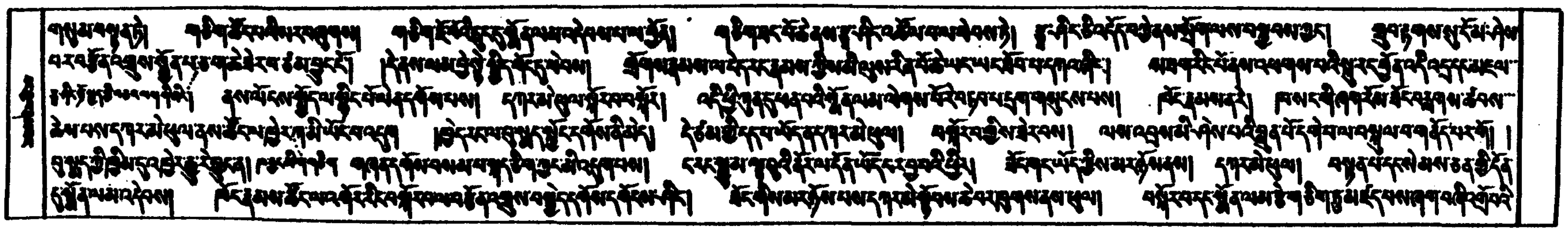
by Lo-chen 'Gyur-med bde-chen

A Trading Trip to sKyid-grong: ff. 20a,1.3-23a,1.3. Trans. on pp. 197-206.

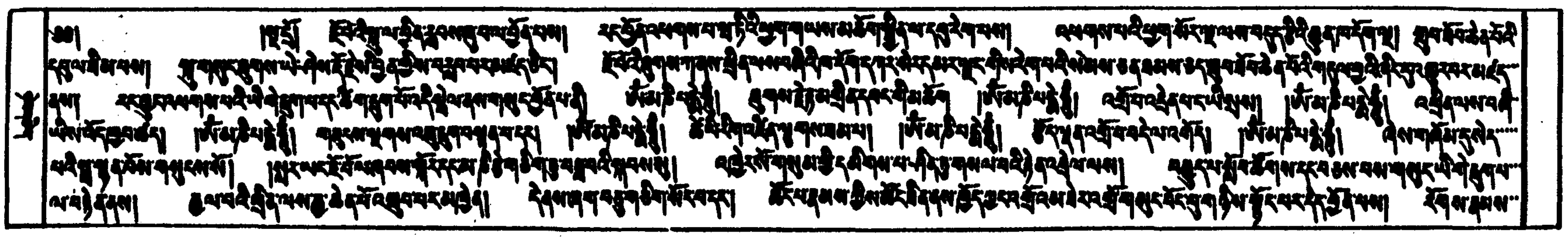
20a



20b



21a



21b

[illegible]

22a

[illegible]

22b

[illegible]

༄། ། །བསྒྲུབས་པ་འདི་རྣམས། ཧུ། ཧུ་ཡེ། ༈ གསང་ཆེན་གཉན་པ་ལྟར། །ཨེ་ར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་མངའ་བདག་ཀྱི་ཡབ། ཀྱེ་མ་ཨེ་མ་ཀྱི་བཀའ་རྒྱ་བཞིན་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས། སྲུང་བསྲུང་བ་ཆེན་པོ་འདུག་པས། །ཀྱེ་རྣམ་པར་རེས་

ངལ་རྟོན་མེད་པའི་སྒྲུབ་བརྒྱུད་པར། །རིམ་འདྲེན་ཡོད་པ་ལས་རྡོ་རྗེ་མཆེད་ཀྱི་གྲུབ་བརྒྱུད་ལ་རྗེ་བཙུན་རྒྱལ་བ་རབ་བརྟན་པས། དཔལ་ཇོ་བོ་འདི་རྣམས་སྐྱོང་བ་གཙུག་ནས་བཅོམ་ལྡན། རྣམ་པ་ཞི་བ་ཡི་སྐྱོང་བར་མཛད། །ཁྱུང་ཆེན་ཞིང་ཁམས་ནས་ཡབ་བཅས་…

མཆེད་སྒྲུབ་རྟོན་བརྒྱུད་མེད་པ་གཏོང་བའི་བསྟོད་ལ་གསུང་། བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་རྣམ་པར་རྒྱལ་བ་ལས་ཡུམ་ཀྱིས་དགེ་བ་ལེགས་པར་རྫོགས་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས། བསམ་གཏན་པ་བརྟན་པར་མཐའ་དག་ཏུ་བཞུགས་པ་ལེགས་པར་གསུང་ངོ་། །དེ་ནས་རྒྱལ་བ་ཆེན་པོ་ཆེན་པོའི་དགོངས་པ་ལ་

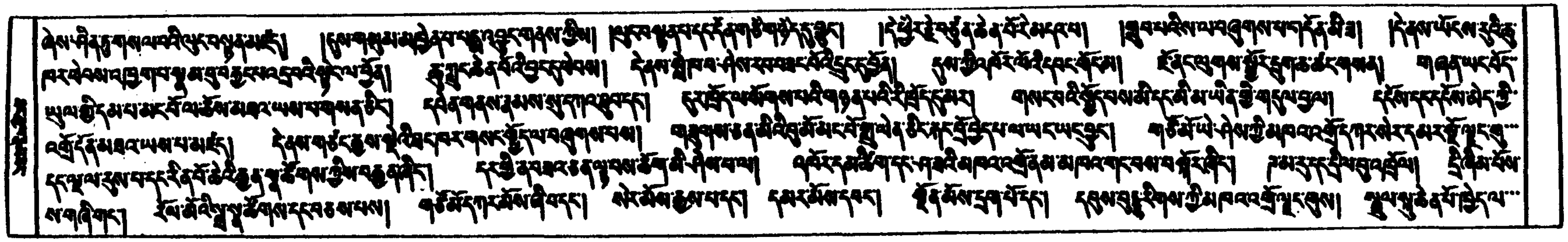
མཛད་པ་བར་དཀའ་བ་མེད་པ་རྣམ་ཀྱིས་བསྒྲུབ་པ་དང་མཛད་པ་འདི་སྐད་བརྗོད་པ་ལས། དེ་ནས་གསུམ་པ་དེ་སྐྱོང་མཆོག །དེ་ཉིད་ཀྱི་ཚོགས་ཡིན་པར་མཛད། །ཀྱེ་མ་བཞུགས་པ་མཆོག །ཞེས་གསུང་ལ་ནས། གཞན་ཡང་སྐུ་ཡི་

ངང་ལ་བཞུགས། རབ་ཏུ་རྒྱ་ཆེན་མཆོག་ལ་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས་སོ། །དགེ་སློང་གི་ཉེ་བར་མཆོག་ཏུ་བསྒྲུབ་པ་ལས། བསྟན་པ་རྫོགས་པ་དང་དགེ་སློང་གི་དོན་པོ་ཞིག་ཏུ་བཅས་ནས། མཛད་སྤྱོད་རྒྱ་འདི་དོན་པ་ནི་འབྲས་ལ་པ་སྤྲུལ་ལམ་གྱིས

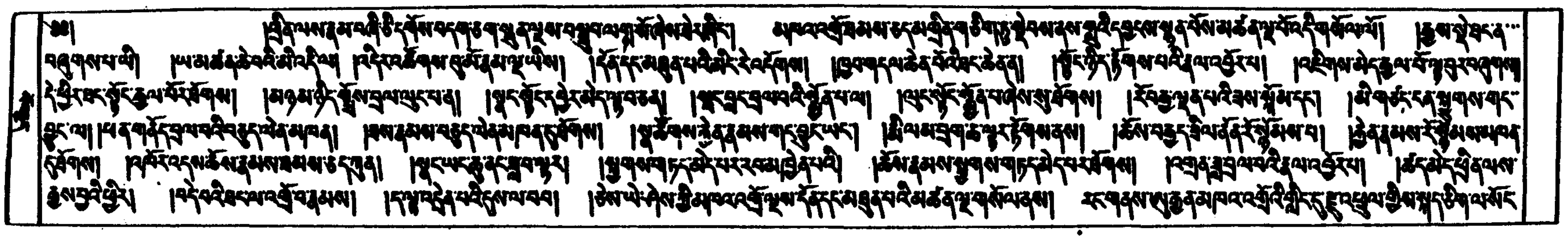
དགེ་སློང་གི་ཚུལ་ལ་རྒྱང་པ། བཀའ་སྲུང་བ་དང་ལ་འཁོར་ཞིང་ལས་བཅུ་གཅིག་མ་ཡོད་པ་རབ་འབྱུང་ལ་བསམ་བརྗོད་པ་སྒྲ་ལ་མཆོད་ལ་པའི་ཞུག ཆོས་རྗེ་བཀའ་བརྒྱུད་པའི་དོན་ནས་ཕྱག་ཚལ་ཀྱི་མཐུ་བཞེས། དགེ་ཚུལ་གཞན་དབྱེན་གྱི་ཕྱག་ཞེས་པ་ལ་མཆོད་ལ།

The Five Ḍākinīs and a Pilgrimage to Lhasa: ff. 37b,1.4-42a,1.2. Trans. on pp. 207-220.

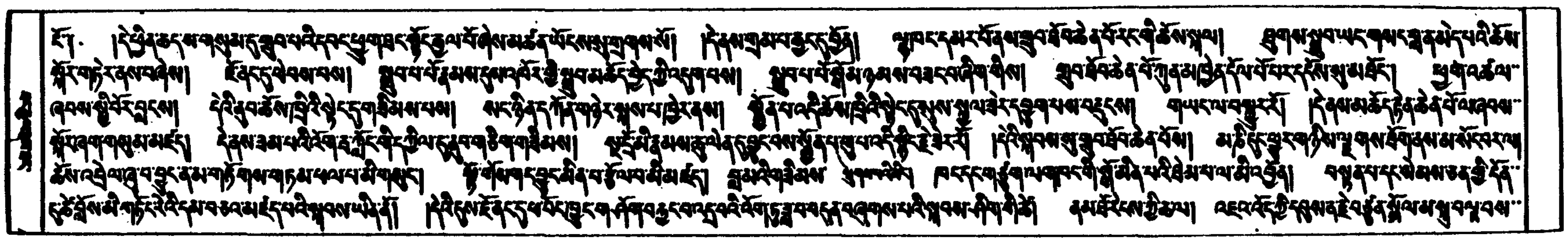
37b



38a



38b



39a

[illegible]

39b

[illegible]

40a

[illegible]

40b

[illegible]

41a

[illegible]

41b

[illegible]

༄༅། །ཅེས་སྲུང་བ་བཞུ་ནུབ་མཁའ་སྤྱོད་འདི་དོན་བསྒྲུབ་པ་བར་མཛད་དོ། །དེའི་ཚེ་ལས་སྲུང་སྟོབས་ཆེན་པོ་དང་དགའ་རབ་མཛེས་མཐུན་ཀྱི་ཞབས་ཕྱི་བ་ལས།' སྨན་ཅིང་སྲུང་བ་ཉི་ཤ་ཁ་སྟོང་མཆོག་ནས། ཕྲ་མའི་ཞིག་ཞེས་རྗེས་ཀུན་ལ་མར་····
བསྒྲུང་ལ་བབས། མི་ཀ་ཅིག་གིས་མར་ལག་མགོ་ཙམ་ཞིག་ཕྱིན་པ། དཔའ་མོ་ལ་བྲུ་ལ་བས་སྦྱིན་ཞིག་ནས་བཅོམ་རྡུང་ནས་ཀུན་ཏུ་འཁྲུལ་པས་ཚེ་ནས་གཞི་རྟོག་པ་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན། །སྨྲ་ནས་དེ་ནི་ཚེ་ཕྱིར་ལ་གཞན་བརྡུན་པ་ཐེབས། ཞི་ཞེན་གས་བས་ནམ་མང་
དབྱུང་བ་ཡབ་ཡུམ་གྱི་རྗེས་འབྲུག་གོན་འཛིན་ཡང་ཏོག་ཡང་མ་དགོན་འདུག་པས་ཡ་ཆེ་རབ་ཞལ་ནས་ཁྲག་མཁའ་མཁན་བ་ཡེ་རེ་དང་རྡོ་རྗེས། བོད་སྤུ་བཅུ་དགུ་པ་ཀ་ལ། སྤུ་ལ་བ་ཤི་ཚོང་པ་ངང་ཐེབས། སྟོང་རྡོ་རྗེ་ཚོང་ལ་ཕྱིན། ཚོང་ལོ་གས་བ་འི་ཚོ་ང་ཕྱུག་པ་བྱུང་། རྫོང་
ལམ་རྡུང་ཡུལ་པོ་ཆེ་ཞིམ་དང་ཐེབས། གཏོང་བྱུང་སྟེ་ཀ་ན་ལ་སྦྱིན་པ་རྟེན་ཐུབ་པས། གྲོ་ལ་མཁའ་ཆེས་མ་པ་རྡོ་གས་ནམ་མང་དགོན་པོ་ཚོང་པ་ལ་བྱུང་ཞག་ལ་བཏང་ངོ་། རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ཆེན་པོས་དོན་དང་ལ་ལམ་གཞི་ཏེ་རབ་མཛད། སྲུང་བྲ་མ་དབྱུགས་
དམར་ལ་བཞུགས་ལ་བས། མདུན་གྱི་ནམ་མཁར་གླིང་ཤུང་གི་དཔུང་ཞན། རྗེས་ནས་སྤྲུལ་པ་བཀུ་བ་ཚོགས་ཀྱི་ཤེས་པ་འཕྲོ་བའི་སེམས་སྒྲུབ་ཀྱི་ཞིག་ལ་བ་ཐ། གྲུབ་ཆེ་ལ་ཕྱི་ལ་སྐོར་བ་བརྟན་པས། བབ་ཀ་ཞམ། སྲོལ་བ་ཕྱིར་ཕྱོགས་ཆེ་བཞུགས་ཕྱིན་
སྤྱི་བདུ་མ་ལོ་མས་ཅན་གྱི་ཕོ་བྲང་། ལྷ་མང་དགོན་ལ་སྒྲུབ་མཐའ་ཅན་པོ་ཆེ་ལྡུག་བཅད་ནས། སེམས་ལ་སྐྱོད་པ་དར། སྨྲ་བ་མ་བཏུབ་བཞི་མ་ཉ་བ་རྒྱས་པ་བྱིན་ལ། མཆོག་མ་ར་ཐུབ་བ་འཁོར་གྱི་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་སྨྲིན་པར་རྫོགས་གོ། །དེ་ནས་རྒྱ་བྱང་

Advice to Fishermen at Yar-'brog and Instructions to Monks at Rong-g.yag-sde; ff. 124a,1.3-127b,1.4. Trans. on pp. 221-234.

124a

[illegible]

124b

[illegible]

125a

[illegible]

125b

སྨིན་པ་ཡི་ནི་དུ། ཞུང་བཞང་ཚུལ་ཡང་དག་པ་ཡི་ནི་གཉེང་མེད་པའི། །མི་ཏྲ་ག་འཆི་བ་མོ་ལ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཕྱག་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །ཉེ་བ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་ཉིད་དང་མཐུན་པའི་ཞེས་ལ་སོགས། །ཚེ་འདི་ཡི་ཕྲིན་ལས་ཡོ་བསྐྱེད་ལམ་ནི་རྣམས་ཀྱི། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་
སྨོན་པའི་སྨོན་འདོད་ཡིན། །ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བར་འཁྱིད་པའི་ལམ་ཁ་ཡིན། །ཕྱོགས་མེད་བཙན་ཕྱུར་གྲོམ་ལ་ཤིག་ཕྱག་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །བཅིངས་པའི་མཁར་དང་བསམ་ཞུགས་པའི་དོར་ལ་སོགས། །ཐལ་དོར་མོང་ལ་སྤྱོད་དང་དོན་པ་
འདི་རྣམས་ནི། །ཚེ་ན་མོང་ལ་དུག་གསུམ་སྐྱེ་བའི་རྒྱ་བ་དང་། །ཤར་བའི་ཕྱོགས་རྒྱ་གཅོད་པའི་མཚོན་ཡིན་པས། །དེར་སྐྱེ་བ་ཆོ་བཞའ་ཏོག་མཐེད་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །གྲོང་དང་དགོན་པ་བདུད་ཀྱི་གནས་ལ་སོགས། །བག་མེད་སྤྱོད་པའི་
གནས་ཁང་འདི་རྣམས་ཀུན། །ཞྭ་ཏོག་ཆགས་སྡང་བསྐྱེད་པ་ཅན་དང་། །ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བར་ཆིང་བའི་ཞགས་པ་ཡིན། །རི་གྲོང་དབེན་པ་རྒྱུན་ཅིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །ཐོག་མེད་དུས་ཀྱི་རྡོ་བཙན་པ་མཐུ་ཅན། །དཀྱིལ་མེད་འབར་
བས་དགུ་བརྒྱ་བགྲེགས་རྒྱུར་ཅིང་། །འབྱེས་སྨྲ་མ་གསོང་གཅོད་བྱེད་དབང་ཆེ་སོགས། །ཕྱག་བ་ཕྱལ་དྲག་པོའི་དང་གྲིམ་གཞིར་རྒྱུར་བའི། །འཁོར་བའི་རྒྱུ་བ་ཕྱལ་སོམས་ཤིག་ཕྱག་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །མི་དགེ་ལས་ནི་ཆེ་འབྲིང་རྒྱུར་བ་གསུམ་གྱི། །
འབྱུང་བ་དང་བརྒྱད་གསུམ་བསྐྱེ་འཁྱུར་ཞིང་། །ཐབས་ཅས་དགེ་བ་ཆེ་འབྲིང་རྒྱུར་གསུམ་གྱི། །འཕྲུལ་སྣང་འཁོར་གསུམ་སྐྱེ་བ་རྒྱུར་བས། །རྒྱུ་འབྲས་ལ་བསྙེད་སོམས་ཤིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །ཐབ་པ་མེད་པ་ཆེ་འབྲིང་རྒྱུར་གསུམ་ལས། །འབྲུལ

126a

༄༅། །ཕུན་སུམ་ཚོགས་པའི་བཀའ་དྲིན་གྱི་སྐྱོང་ཞིང་། །ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་རྒྱུ་བ་སྤྱོད་ལ་བཀྲོལ་ནས། །མཐར་ཐུག་རྣམ་མཐའ་ཡི་ཉན་ལ་ཐང་རྒྱལ་གཏོང་བ་རྒྱུར་བས། །དགེ་བ་རྒྱུ་བརྒྱུད་པར་ཤོས་ཤིག་ཕྱ་ལ་
ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །འཁོར་བའི་འཕྲུལ་པ་ཡི་སེམས་ཅན་ཀུན་དེ་རྣམས་ཀྱིས། །ཐོག་མེད་དུས་ནས་ལ་དགའ་བ་ཡ་བཟུང་ནས་ཤིག །བདག་གི་ཕྱིར་དུས་ལ་ངན་བསམ་ཞུགས་པ་ཡིན། །འཁོར་བར་སྐྱེ་ཞིང་ཕྱུང་ངུ་ལ་སྨོང་རྒྱུར་བས། །
ཕྱུང་ཆུབ་སེམས་མཆོག་སྐྱེད་ཅིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །བདག་ཉིད་གཅིག་པུར་འཛིན་པའི་རང་དགའ་དེ། །ཐོག་མེད་དུས་ནས་འཁོར་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ཀུན། །ལས་དང་ཉོན་མོངས་ཕྱུག་བསྔལ་དུ་གཡོག་པ་ཉེར། །དེ་བདག་གི་གཅེས་
འཛིན་བཏང་རྒྱུ་ལགས། །གཞན་གཅེས་ཅིང་ཚེས་པར་བྱང་ཞིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །གཞན་ཕྱི་ལས་དགའ་ཡི་རིག་ལ་གནོད་རྒྱུ་ཡང་། །གྲོལ་པའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་གྲུབ་ཕྱིན་གནོད་ལ་ཞེ་མ་བཞིང་། །བཟོད་པ་རྣམ་པ་གཉིས་བདུད་ཀྱི་ཕྱུག་ནས། །ཕྱུལ
པའི་རྒྱུ་ལ་ཞིམ་མཆོད་ཅིང་བསྒོད་པ་སོགས། །བཟོད་པ་ཉམས་ལེན་སྐྱོང་ཤིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །དཀོན་ཅན་མ་ལུས་སེམས་ཅན་ཐམས་ཅད་ཀྱི། །ནད་དང་སྡུག་བསྔལ་དགྲ་བགེགས་ལེན་པ་དང་། །བདག་གི་དགེ་བདེ་མ་ལུས་གཏོང་བ་སོགས་
གཏོང་ལེན་གཉིས་ལ་རྒྱུན་དུ་བསྒོམས་པ་ཡིས། །ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བ་རྒྱུན་དུ་ཆོད་ཅིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །འགྲོ་རྣམས་འཁོར་བའི་འཇིགས་ལ་ལས་བརྒྱལ་བཀྲི་རུ། །འཇིག་རྟེན་སྨྲ་བ་རྒྱལ་མཐོན་མཐོ་རིས་པར། །ཐར་པ་མེད་རྒྱུ་བ་བཞི་ཉན་ཐོས་རྣམ་མཆོག་བ་ཀུན་པ

126b

ལ་། །ཕྱུལ་ངན་ཡིད་བཞུམ་ཐུབ་པས་ཕྱུ་བ་འཁྲི་ཤིང་། །དཀོན་མཆོག་ཕྱུ་བ་སོགས་ཁུལ་ཞིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །སྨོན་བ་མཐུ་མ་གཟུང་ཞི་བག་ཕྱེད་རྣམས། །འདུ་གཞི་རྟེན་རྣམ་པ་ཡང་མི་ཉེད་ཅིང་། །འཕྲོ་བ་ནུབ་
པའི་བདེ་བ་ཐོབ་ཕྱིར་དུ། །ཕྱང་ལ་རང་བཞིན་མེད་པར་ཤེས་ཕྱུ་ལ་ནས། །ཕྱང་ཆུབ་སེམས་གཉིས་ཕྱུད་ཅིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །སྙིང་བ་ཆེ་རང་བཞིན་ཕྱལ་བརྒྱ་ན་པར་དེ། །ལོངས་ཡོན་ཕྱ་དང་རེ་ཚེ་ན་བ་དུས་པ་སོགས། །ལྷག་པར་
ཡོངས་སྟོང་ངེས་ཕྱུ་ཅི་ནི་ཆེས་རྣམས། །འགྲོ་བའི་རྣམ་ཕྱིར་དཀོན་མཆོག་གསུམ་པོ་ལ། །དང་བ་དྲག་པོས་པ་ཕྱུལ་ཅིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །ཚོར་བ་ཟར་དང་ཕྱུ་ངོ་སེམས་པ་གཟུང་ཕྱུགས་ཀྱི། །རྩ་བ་ཡེ་ཤེས་ཀྱི་གཞོན་ཆོག་ཏུ་པ་རྣམས
མཁའ་མཉམ་བ་ཕྱུན་ཕྱུ་རབས་བ་ཞེན་དམ་བཅས་བརྒྱུད། །ཀུན་མོང་ལ་དང་བ་ངོས་ལ་ཕྱུམ་བ་ཤུམ་ཉམས་པ་རྣམས། །འཕྱོད་ཚོ་ལས་བ་ཁགས་ཕྱུང་ཞིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །བདེ་མཆོག་བསོགས་ལ་རང་ལུས་ཡོད་མེད། །རྣམ་པ་ཞུགས་
བར་ཕྱུར་པ་བ་སྨྲ་མཐུ་ལ་ནས། །འབྱུ་རྩོ་གསུམ་དང་རྟག་ཏུ་ཕྱུན་པ་ཡིས། །ཅི་རྒྱུ་ཕྱམས་ཅད་ཕྱུ་རྣམ་བ་ཕྱུལ་ནས། །ཐམས་བཟུམ་ཕྱོག་ཕྱུང་ལ་ཞིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །ཕྱུག་ཕྱུག་བདེ་ཆེན་པ་བསོར་མོའི་ཕྱུ་བྲ་ང་ཕྱུ། །ཕྱུན་ཕྱུ་ཡོང་མ་ཕྱང་ལ
ཕྱུལ་ཕྱུང་སེམས་སོགས། །ཐམས་ཅད་རྣམ་པའི་རང་ཕྱུ་བ་ཕྱུ་བར་ཕྱུལ། །རྣམ་པ་གསལ་བ་ཕྱུལ་མེད་བཞུགས་པ་ལ། །རྩ་ཅིག་ཕྱག་སོགས་བ་ཕྱུ་ཅིག་ཕྱ་ལ་ཕྱུ་ནན་མོ། །ཉེས་པ་ཐམས་ཅད་འཕྱུང་བའི་རྣ་བ། །བདག་ཏུ་འཛིན་

127a

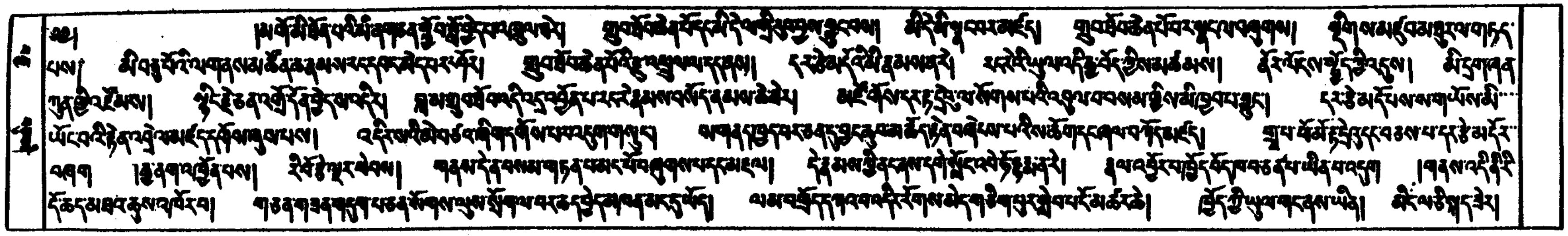
༄༅། །པའི་རྒྱུ་བ་འདི་ཡིན་གྱིས། །འདུག་ཅེ་མ་སྒྲུབ་བ་འདི་ན་པར་མ་སྒྲུབ་པར། །ནམ་མཁའ་ཅན་དེ་རྟོགས་པའི་སྒྲུབ་ཏུ་གསུམ་ཡིན་པས་ན། །འདུག་པ་འཛིན་འགོང་པོ་རྒྱལ་ཅིག་གསལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །ཚོགས་མ་རྡུག་ཡུལ་དུ
ཤར་བ་ཅི་ཤར་ཡང་། །རྩོལ་མ་ཡུལ་གྱི་ཤར་བ་རིག་པ་ཞི་ནས། །རང་སེམས་མ་བཅོས་པའི་ཤར་བ་ཡིན་པས་ན། །ཤར་ཡང་རང་བཞིན་མེད་པར་ཤེས་བྱས་ནས། །ངོ་བོ་འདི་ན་འཛིན་སྤྲོས་ཞིག་གསལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །ཅི་ཤར་ཐམས་
ཅད་རང་གི་སེམས་ཡིན་པས། །སེམས་ཉིད་གདོད་ནས་སྐྱེ་བ་མེད་པས་ན། །གཞི་མེད་རྩ་བྲལ་རྒྱུ་རྐྱེན་ཆེན་པོ་འདི་ངང་། །རྟག་ཆད་བྲལ་བ་དབུ་མ་ཆེན་པོའི་ལམ། །དེ་ཉིད་ངང་ལ་ཞོག་ཅིག་གསལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །འདི་ཕྱུག་པ་ན
གནོད་བསྟོད་སྙན་ཅི་བྱུང་ཡང་། །རང་སེམས་མ་བཅོས་པའི་ཆོ་འཕྲུལ་ཡིན་པས་ན། །ཤར་ཡང་བདེན་པ་མེད་པར་ཤེས་བྱས་ནས། །དགག་སྒྲུབ་སྤང་ལེན་བདེ་དགའ་འཛིན་མ་བྱེད་པར། །ཁང་བུ་རྒྱང་གྲོགས་ལས་ལྡབ་ཆས་ཞིག
གསལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །དེ་ལྟར་ཉམས་མྱོང་སྣང་བ་པའི་དགེ་ཚད་དང་། །རང་གཞན་ཀུན་གྱི་དགེ་བཅོ་ཡོད་ཐམས། །འཁོར་གསུམ་ཡོངས་སུ་དག་པའི་ཤེས་རབ་ཀྱིས། །རྒྱ་ཆེན་སེམས་ཅན་ཡོངས་ལ་བསྔོ་བ་དང་། །དེ་ལྟར་བློ་བ་རྒྱལ
ཞིག་གསལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །རྒྱུ་འབྲས་སྣང་བྲང་ཤེས་པའི་རྒྱུ་གདམས་ངག །དཀོན་བ་འདི་རྣམས་ཉམས་སུ་མྱོང་ནས། །གཉིས་མེད་བ་མེད་པའི་འཁོར་བའི་མཚོ་ལས་གྲོལ། །བསམ་ལས་འདས་ཤིང་ཏུ་ཟབ་སྟོང་ཟུར་ན། །རང་གཞན་དོན་གཉིས་ཤེས་དུ

127b

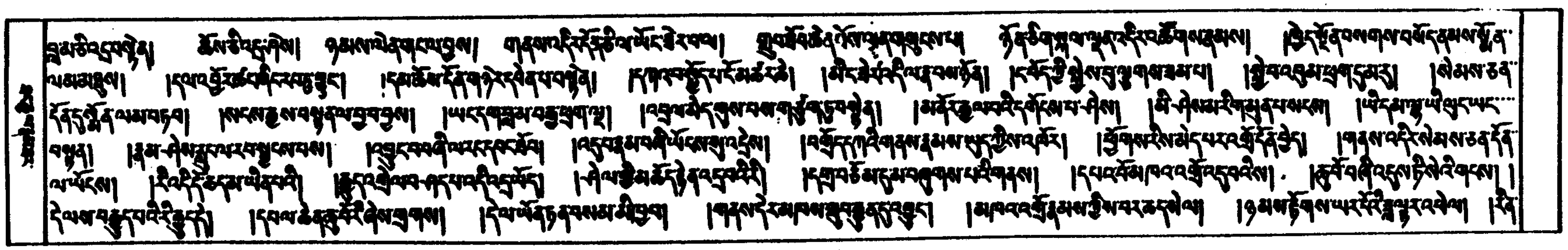
འགྲུབ་པར་ཤོག། བདག་མ་མཐོང་ལ་གསལ་བར་ཐོང་ཞིག་གསལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །ངལ་བ་འདི་རྣམས་ཉམས་སུ་བླངས་ན་ཟུར། །ཁམས་གསུམ་འཁོར་བའི་སྡུག་བསྔལ་ལས་གྲོལ་ནས། །བདེ་ཆེན་ཐར་པའི་གླིང་དུ་བྱིན་ནུས་ཏེ། !
མཐར་ཐུག་རྒྱལ་བའི་གོ་འཕང་ཐོབ་པ་དང་། །རང་གཞན་དོན་གཉིས་འགྲུབ་པོ་སྙལ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་སོ། །གཞན་གྱི་ཐབས་དགའ་ལ་གྱིང་བཀྲ་མཐོང་ནས་དཀོན། །རང་གི་རང་ལ་གྲོས་ཤིག་མ་བཏང་བ། །ཕྱི་ནང་ནད་ལ་འབྱུང་བ་ཡི་ཡུལ་སྣོད་པར
དགའ། །དེ་ནས་ད་རེས་རང་ལ་གྲོལ་བ་ཏུ་ཞོག །ཉིད་ལ་སྙིང་པོ་ཐོང་ལ་མཐོང་ཀྱ་ལ་ལྟ་ན་ཀྱུ། །ཤེས་གསུང་ལ་པས། རྗེ་བཙུན་ལ་སོགས་པའི་བྲིམ་དེ་རྩོགས་པ་རྣམ་ལ་དད་གུས་ཆེན་པོ་སྐུལ་ནས་གསོལ་བ་འདེབས
སོ། །གཅིག་པ་རྣམ་དུ་ཡེ་ནས། མཛོད་རྟེ་ལ་སོགས་དེ་གང་བ་ཞིག དཔལ་འཁོར་བདེ་ཆེན་ཀྱི་རྒྱལ་སྲིད་ནང་ལ་ཅིག་མ་ཀོལ་བར་བཅུན་པས། ཆོས་ཉིད་ནང་ལ་རྟོགས་པ་མི་འོས་ཟེར། རྟོགས་གྲུབ་ཀུང་ཅི་ཡང་མ
གྱུར། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་གི་མདུན་དུ་ཞིབས་ན་ཤོག མཆོད་རྟེན་བཀྲ་ཤིས་སྒོ་མང་ལས་མཇལ། ཕྱི་ནང་ཀུན་ལ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་སྙིང་པོ་ར་བཀྲ་ཤིས་མཛད། གཙུག་ལག་ཁང་མཇལ་བ་ལ་བརྩོན་པས། ཞེས་པའི་ཁ་ནས་དཀོན
གཅེར་གྱིས་ཕྱིར་ཕྱུལ། སྨོན་བཅད་བརྒྱུད་བལ། ངལ་རྟེན་འབྲེལ་བཟང་། ཡིད་བ་རང་གི་རྒྱུད་ལ་རབ་ལ་མཆེད། ལག་ལྷ་ཡུལ་འབྱུང་རང་གྲོལ་ཡོང་གསུང་ལ་པའི་མཐོང་ལ་བ་ཤུང་བཤུན། བདག་པོ་རབ་བརྟན་པ་ལགས་ན་ནས་

A Journey to Five-Peak Mountain in China: ff. 114a,1.5-116b,1.2. Trans. on pp. 235-243.

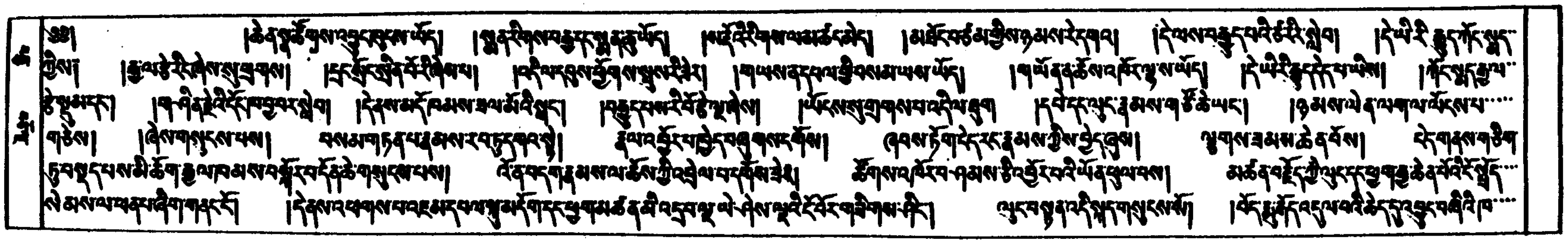
114a



114b



115a



115b

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

116a

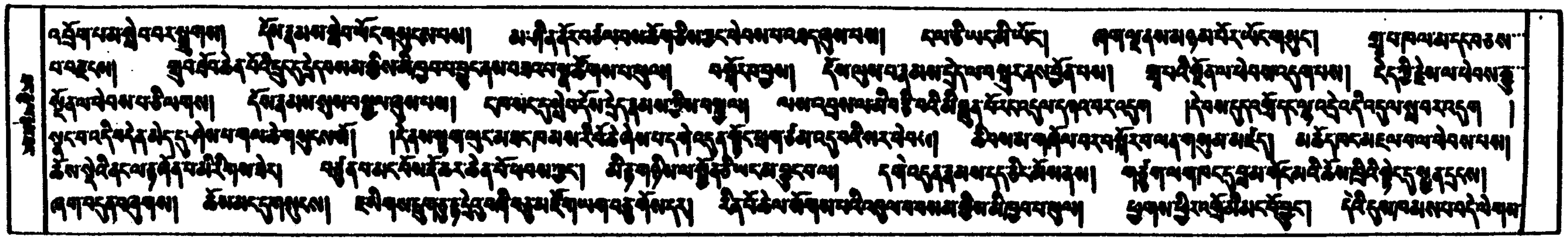
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

116b

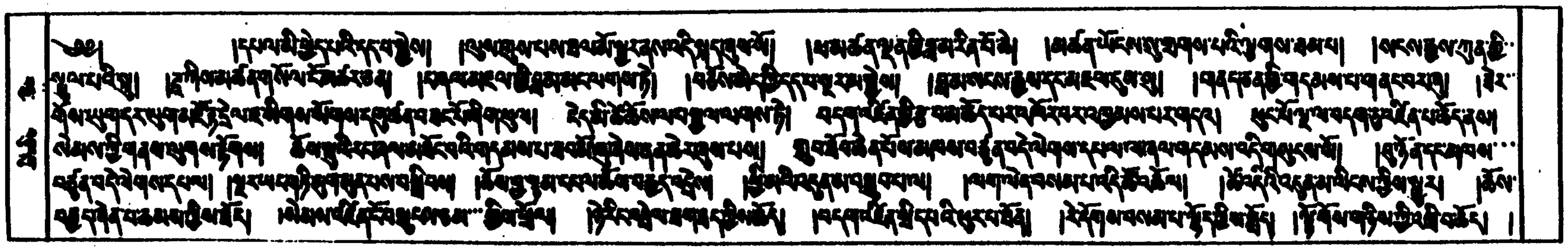
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

A Precept on Mahāmudrā: ff. 118b,1.4-120a,1.4. Trans. on pp. 244-249

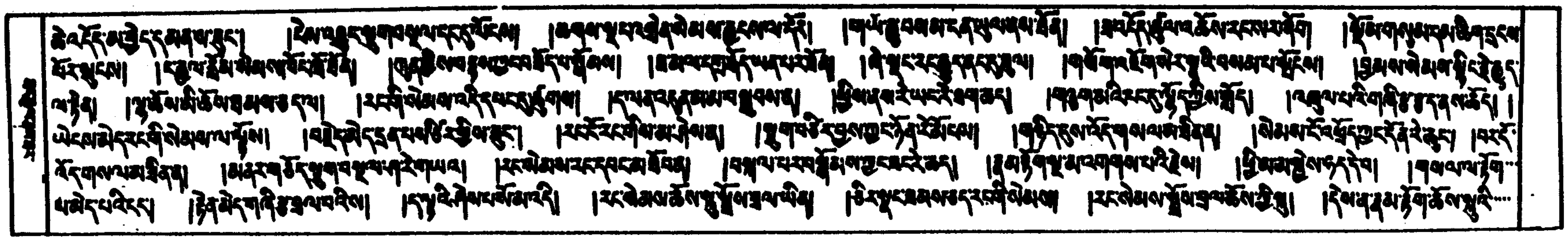
118b



119a



119b



ཆོ

༄༅། །ཐུགས། །ཕྱག་བཞི་མ་བཞིན་གཏོར་བ་བསྔུབ། །ས་བསྐྱེད་བཟླས་བརྗོད་བཀའ་བསྐུར། །ཆོས་སྐྱོང་གསོལ་ཁ་བྱིན་འབེབས། །རང་ལྷའི་ཞལ་ལས་ཡང་ཡང་བྱུང་། །མཐའ་ཚིག་ལས་ཡེ་ཤེས་རང་ལ་ཐིམ། །

འགྲོ་དོན་སྤྲུལ་པ་གཤེགས་གཤེགས་ཞལ་གསུམ་ཐུལ། །འདི་ནི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་ཆེན་པོ་ཡིན། །ཡེ་ཤེས་མེད་པ་མཐུན་རྒྱུ་རྩལ་ཅེས། །རྟོག་མེད་ཕྱག་པར་སྐྱོང་བ་ཅེས། །དེ་སྐད་ཅེས་སྲུང་དང་ལས་བྱིན། །ངོ་སྤྲོད་ལམ་མེད…

རྒྱ་ཁྱབ་མ་ཞེང་བསྐོར་བ་ཡིན། །བཞེན་པ་བྲལ་བའི་ཕྱག་རྒྱ་དང་། །སྒྲུབ་བཞི་བསྐོར་བའི་དམ་ཚིག །ཡོངས་དག་སྟོང་པ་མི་དོན་ཡང་། །ཞེས་གསུང་ལས་པས། དགེ་བ་ཞེས་བ་དེ་ལ་ཞུགས་པ་ལ་སོགས་ལ་པ

ཉི

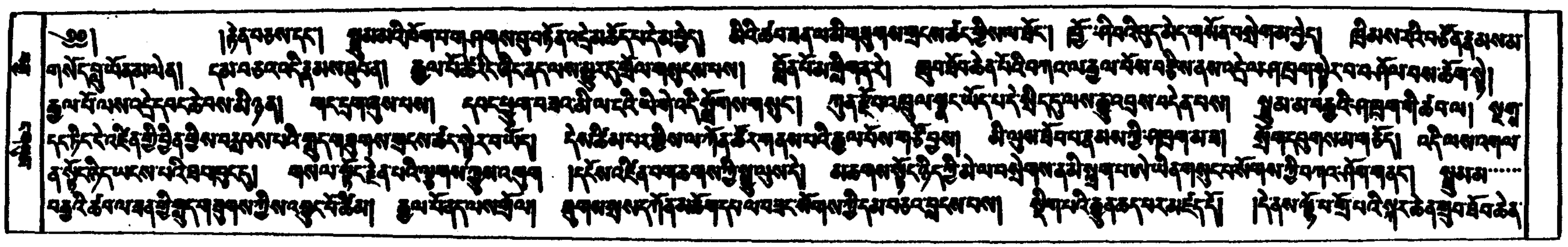
བཀའ་དགའ་བ་རྒྱུ་ཡོངས་ཀྱི་རྫོགས་པ་འདི་ལྟ་ཞེས་གསུམ་མང་པོ་དང་པ་… །དེ་ནས་ཀ་རགོང་པོའི་ཡུལ་གྱི་གནས་ཆེན་…

གནས་ལུགས་མར་དུ་ཐེབས། །…

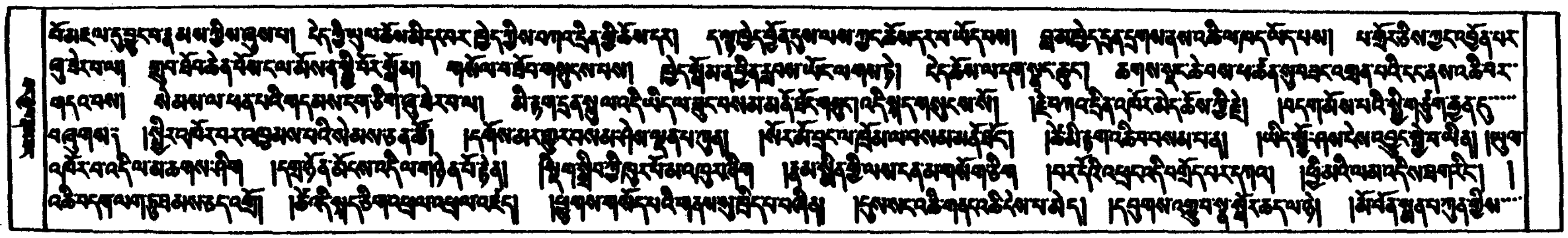
ལས་བཞག་ནས་མཛད། །…

A Reminder About Death: ff. 153a,1.6-154b,1.5. Trans. on pp. 250-256.

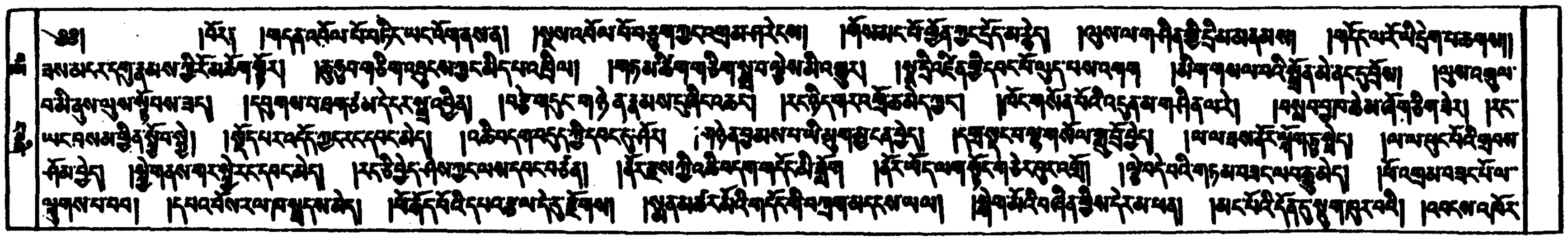
153a



153b



154a



གཡོ་ན་མང་ཡང་བ་ཞིག་ཕྱུར་འགྲོ། །བུ་ཕོ་འཇོ་མོ་ཡང་གཅིག་ཤུར་འགྲོ། །མི་བརྟེན་གདུང་ཅན་ཚོ་འབྲུག་ལ་མི་ཐོད། །མི་སྐྱིད་པ་ཅན་ཚོ་ཧོར་ལ་ཆགས། །ཆོས་དེ་རྟུལ་དྲན་ཏེ་འགྲོ་བ་ནས་བཀོད། །ལས་མེད་ཞེ་ཁྲེལ་པའི་
མི་རྣམས་ཀུན། །ཀ་གི་ནེ་ཧཱུྃ་ཞི་བྱིན་ལ་བཞུགས་མཐུན་ནས་བཞུ། །འདུད་ལས་ཀྱི་རྒྱུ་ཞིག་མ་རྒྱུ་བ་འདི་དག །ལས་རྣམ་སྨིན་བསྒྲུབ་ཀྱིས་སྒྲུང་ནས་མཐུན། །སེམས་འཁྲུལ་པའི་འཛིན་པས་བསྒྲུབ་སྐྱ་ཚོགས་འབྱུང་། །བསོད་མེད་རྣམ་སེམས
ལ་བཟའ། །ཕྱུར་བྱུལ་ཡལ་བར་སྤྱོད་པ་སྐྱེས། །དབྱེར་ཆོས་ཀི་གཞི་དང་དགོས་བསམ། །རྒྱལ་རིགས་ཀྱི་བཙན་ཕྱུག་ཞིག །ཡར་བསམ་མ་མཐོ་སེམས་པ་ལ་གདོང་རེ་རེད། །ཁ་གང་གི་ཟས་ཅིག་གསུམ་ཕྱུང་ན། །ཕྱུལ་གང་གི་ནོར……
ཤེས་ཕྱུལ་ཀྱང་བོན། །དེ་མ་གཏོགས་པ་འདི་ཟས་མདོར་བསྡུ་ཆོས་ཡིན། །ཚོགས་ལ་ཀྱི་དོར་ཕྱུག་སྐྱེ་ནས་ལེགས། །གདམས་ངག་དེ་ཀུན་གྱི་ཡིད་ལ་ཆོངས། །འདི་ཡ་ལེ་བརྟན་མཐའ་ལ་རྣམས་ལ་ཕྲེལ། །དེས་འཁྲུར་དང་དང་བ་ཡོད་པའི……
མི། །ཕྱོགས་འདི་ནོན་ཤིང་བས་མ་ལ་བཞུ། །འཁོར་བ་ལ་སྐྱོ་བ་དེ་ལ་པ་རྒྱུ། །ཞེས་གསུང་མས་སོ། །ཡང་སྐྱབས་ཤིག་གི་ཚེ། བླ་མ་ཆེན་པོ་ལ་ཡོན་བདག་རྣམས་ཀྱིས་ཞུས་པའི། ཆོས་ཐར་ལམ་སྟོན་པ་ཅན་ཡོད་པ་ལ། སྤྱང་གི
མང་པོ་བྱུང་བས། གཡས་གཡོན་གྱི་རྗེ་བོ་བྱུང་ནས། སྤྱང་གི་རི་ཆེན་མི་གསོད་པའི་ཤི་བ་བསམ་བུ་ཤོར་བས། དེ་ཡི་ལོ་འདི་སྤྱང་གི་རི་ཡང་བསྒོ་གསུང་བ་ཀར་འགོ་བ་འདི་ག་ནང་དོ། །ཡོ་ཀེ་སྐྱར་ལ་ནམ། །གཅན་གཟན་རི་སྤྱི་སྤྱོད་པོ

102b

བར་ཧོ་ཝ་རི་ན་པོ་ཆེ་མཇལ། མི་ནམས་ཀྱི་དོན་དུ་ཀླུ་ཐམས་ངེས་པར་ཐུགས་པ་ཞིག་མཛད་དགོངས། ཀླུ་ཡི་ནམས་ཀུན་གྱིས་ཞལ་བ། མཐོལ་བ་བཤགས་པ། ཧོ་ཝ་ཀུན་གྱིས་ནང་དབུ་བཏོན། ཆས་ཀ་མོལ་བ་ལོག་མང་དབེན་ལྷ་ལ་བསྟོད།
ཀླུ་བརྟན་ཆེ་ན་པོ་ལ་ལ་པོ་ཏ་ལའི་ཀླུ་བ་དང་པོའི་ཆོས་གཅིག་ལ། དཔལ་ཀླུ་རི་རི་ཞིག་མི་ཡམ་གླིང་ལ་ལ་ཀུན་ཐམས་ཐམས་ཤུགས་བཀྲ། ཉིད་ནས་སོག །ཞིག་ནས་མཆི། བར་ནམ་མིང་དང་ཐེ་བརྒྱུད་ཀྱིས་བཀོད་པ་བརྒྱུད་པ་ཡང་། ཀླུ་འདི་ལས་མི་
འདྲ་གསུང་པའི་དམ་བཅའ་མཛད། དེའི་བར་ལ་མདོ་ཁེ་ལ་ཧུ་ལ་ཕུལ་ཏུ་མ་བཀྲ་ནང་གྱུགས་ཀྱིས་མཛད་པའི་སྤྱན་ལས་སུ། ཆོས་པ་ཧོ་ཝ་དཔ་ཀུ་ལ་ཐམ་པའི་ཞབས་པད་བཞུད་ནས་མགོ་གཅིག་ཀུ་ཀ་ཅམ་སོང་བ་དེ། མི་ཞིའ་བཞུད་པ་རྫོགས་པ་མཆེད
ནས། མི་མང་པོ་སྤུ་ཏྲ་ད་ཚོགས་རྒྱུ་ད་ནམས་ལ། ས་ཐག་རིང་ཞིག་ཏུ་མི་བོ་ཚོད་གཅིག་བརྒྱ་མ་པ་ན་ཡེ་ཡོད་གསུངས་པས། ཧོ་ཝང་པས་ཀུ་མ་ཞིག་ཕྱིར་ན་ཚང་གི་ཕྱི་ན་ཚོགས་ལ་གསུང་ཚུལ། ཀུ་མ་མི་དབོལ་དོན་ཆེན་པོ་འགྲུབ་པ་ཡོད་གསུང
སྙན་ལ་མ་མཛད། དེ་རིང་ཚོགས་པ་ནམས་ལ་ནམ་མཁའ་འགྲོ་འགྱུར་གྱི་དབང་བསྐུར། དམིགས་པ་སོ་སྦྱང་ལས་བརྟན་གསུམ་རྒྱལ་བ་འི་དང་སོལ། ཧོ་ཝ་བཞི་ལམ་རིག་སྒྲ་ལ་ནས་སྤྱིག་ཐུགས་ནས་ཚོང་དཀར་པོ་དང་སྤྲོད་ཅམ་བཞེད། ནམ་མཁའ་ལ་སོང་བ
དེ་ར་ཚོགས་པ་ཀུན་གྱིས་མཐོང་ཞིང་། དུས་དེ་ནས་བོད་གི་ཡུལ་པོ་བརྒྱ་གསུམ་པས། མི་ཏོག་གི་ཆར་དང་འཇའ་འོད་དང་བ་ལ་སོགས་པའི་ལྟས་ཡ་མཚན་ཆེན་བྱུང་ངོ་། །ཐམ་ཧུ་ལ་ནག་གསུམ་ཞིག །མི་ནམས་ཀུན་ཀྱང་ཐམ་མཆོད་ལ་མི་ཕྱིད་ཟེར། ཀླུ་བ་ནམས

103a

༄༅། །སྤྱོད་ལུགས། །ཕྱད་པར་མོ་རྣམ་མགོ་གསལ་སྤྱ་པ་ཕལ་ཆེན་ཚོགས། དེང་རང་གི་ལས་ཀ་འདི་ལ་ཐེ་ནམ་འདི་དུས་ནི་མི་འདུག །གྲམ་བ་ཟང་ཡང་ཚོས་ནི་མི་གསུང་། ལྷ་ཆེན་ལ་མོ་གསལ་བ་འདི་དགེ་ལས་ནི་མིན།
ཚེ་འདི་རི་ལྟ་ནི་གཞང་རྒྱུད་ལས་མི་འདུག །སྐྱེ་བ་ཕྱི་མ་གར་འགྲོ་ནི་མེད། འདི་འདྲ་བྱེད་པ་ལས་རྒྱལ་ཁམས་བསྐོར་རྟེན་གསུམ་མཇལ་འདྲ་ཟེར། ལས་གླམ་བང་བཟང་ལ་ཚོས་ཤུ་བ་ལ་འགྲོ་ཟེར། ལ་ལ་གཉེན་ས་རི་བྱོང་འགྲིམ་ལུགས་སྤྱོད་
བྱེད་ཟེར། ལ་ལ་ཡུལ་དུ་མོ་གཉེན་དགྲ་ཏུ་ལ་གཉེན་སྐྱོང་བྱེད་ཟེར་བ་ནམས་མདོན་མཁྱེན་ཀྱིས་དགོངས་སོ། །སྤྱ་པ་བཟོ་རིག་པ་ཀུན་ཚོགས་ཤོག་གསུང་། གཞིམ་ཁང་གི་མདུན་དུ་ཚོགས་བྱུང་བས། ཚོགས་པ་འཁོར་གཟབ་ལས་པ་
ཞིག་བཀག་ནས། སྤྱོད་ཐུགས་ལ་མཁྱེན་ཀྱིས་སྲིད་ལུང་བཞག་ནས། འདི་སྐད་གསུངས་པ། བྱེད་འདི་རང་ཚོགས་པ་ཡེ་ངེས་གྲུབ་པས་ཚོན། །ཧེ་ནང་ལ་འཁོར་བ་ཡི་ཞུམ་ཐབ་པ་དཀའ། །ལ་ས་ཡང་ས་རྒྱལ་བ་སྟན་དང་མཇལ་བ་དཀོན། །
ལས་དགེ་ལས་བྱེད་པ་དང་རེས་ཙམ། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ལས་ལ་ཞེན་མཐའ་མེད། །ཕྱུ་རྒྱ་ཕལ་པས་ཀུང་བྱེད་དགོས་མང་། །ཤེ་ཕྱུང་ནམ་མོ་མ་རྒྱལ་བ། །དགྲ་འབྱུང་བ་འདི་ནས་མི་ཐོད། །འགྲོ་ཀུན་ཐམ་རམ་ཤེས་ན། །དགྲ་གཉེན་སུ་ཡིན་
ངེས་པ་མེད། །སྤྱིན་པའི་འབྲས་བུ་མེད་ལྟ་ར། །ལོངས་སྤྱོད་འདོད་ཀུ་འཁྱུང་མི་འགྱུར། །ཚོས་ཀྱི་གནས་ཀུགས་མ་ཤེས་ན། །ཡིད་སྡུག་རྒྱུ་པས་ཅི་ལ་བ། །ཤི་ཡང་འཆི་བ་མེད་པ་ཡི། །སློག་དང་ཅི་ཡོད་སེམས་ལ་སྟོན།།

103b

རང་གཞན་ཕན་བདེ་བསྒྲུབ་ཏུ་གསུ། །ཕྱོགས་བཀྲ་སྲིད་ཕྱུག་བར་ཆད་ཡིན། །བར་ཆད་སེལ་བའི་ཐབས་མཁས་པ་ནམས། །ཤེས་རབ་རབ་ཀྱི་ཐ་སྙད་ལ་ཞོག །ཀུན་གཞི་འཁྲུལ་མེད་གཞལ་ཡས་ན། །ཆོས་སྐུ་ཀུན་ཏུ་བཟང་ཆེན་པོའི་
ངེ་ན། ངོ་མཚར་ཆེ་ཞིང་འགྲན་ཟླ་བྲལ། །སྔགས་གསུམ་མཆོད་པ་དེ་ལ་ཕུལ། །དཔང་པོ་ལྷ་ཡི་ཡུལ་གྲོང་ནས། །འདོད་ཡོན་སྣ་ཚོགས་རོལ་མོ་མཁན། །ལྷ་ཚོགས་ལྷང་མོ་ལྟ་བ་ཡོད། །ང་ལམ་ཡེངས་བ་ལྟ་བར་གྱིས། །སྤྲུལ་ལུས་འབྱུང་
བཞི་འདི་རི་བོ་ལ། །མ་བཅོས་སེམས་ཀྱི་དགོན་པ་ཡོད། །འདི་གནས་ལ་འཆར་བའི་གནས་མཆོག་ཡིན། །ཅེ་གཅིག་བསྒྲུབ་གནས་དེ་ལ་མཛོད། །མ་རིག་སངས་པའི་ཡང་དགོན་ན། །རང་རིག་ཡེ་ཤེས་བླ་མ་བཞུགས། །བླ་མ་དེ་ལ་
བཟང་བ་མེད། །ཆོས་དང་གདམས་ངག་དེ་ལ་ཞུས། །རྣམ་རྟོག་འཁྲུལ་བའི་དུར་ཁྲོད་ན། །འཇིག་རྟེན་ཆོས་བརྒྱད་རོལ་ངང་སྟུ། །ཟང་མེད་འཛིན་པ་སྐྱུར་བའི་གནས། །རོ་སྙོམས་སྤྱོད་པ་བྱེད་པ་ཡིན། །སྐྱོན་མེད་རྡོ་རྗེའི་ལུས་འདི་ལ། །
ཡུལ་ཆེན་ཉི་ཤུ་རྩ་བཞི་དང་། །དཔའ་བོ་མཁའ་འགྲོའི་ཚོགས་རྣམས་བཞུགས། །ཚོགས་ཀྱི་འཁོར་ལོ་དེ་ལ་ཕུལ། །ལར་ཆོས་ཀྱི་ཉེ་ལུགས་མ་ཤེས་ན། །གང་ལྟར་བྱས་ཀྱང་འཆིང་བའི་རྒྱུ། །རྩ་ལ་ཁམས་ཀྱི་རྒྱང་སྣང་པོ་ཡིན།།
ལྷ་བ་མཁའ་ཀུང་ཀླུ་མ་ཁྲ་ཡིན། །རི་ལ་བསྡད་རུ་ངེ་རིགས་ཡིན། །ཐུགས་སྲུ་བསྡད་ཀུང་ཕྱི་བ་ཡིན། །རང་དོར་རང་གིས་ཤེས་པ་དང་། །རྒྱ་འབྲས་འདོར་ལེན་མཁས་པ་གཅེས། །དཔལ་ཤར་དབང་ཕྱོགས་འདི་ན། །ཀ་ར་པོ་འི